DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 439 180 UD 033 390

AUTHOR	Zhou, Min; Bankston, Carl L., III
TITLE	Straddling Two Social Worlds: The Experience of Vietnamese Refugee Children in the United States. Urban Diversity Series No. 111.
INSTITUTION	ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, New York, NY.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.; Columbia Univ., New York, NY. Teachers College.
PUB DATE	2000-02-00
NOTE	93p.; For the most recent book in the series, see ED 416 271.
CONTRACT	ED-99-CO-0035
AVAILABLE FROM	ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, 525 West 120th Street, Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 ($12). Tel: 212-678-3433; Tel: 800-601-4868 (Toll Free); Fax: 212-678-4012; e-mail: eric-cue@columbia.edu. For full text: http://eric-web.tc.columbia.edu/.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative (142)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; *Acculturation; *Asian Americans; *Cultural Differences; Cultural Influences; Elementary Secondary Education; Language Minorities; *Refugees; Sex Role; Students; Vietnam War; *Vietnamese People
IDENTIFIERS	Refugee Camps; Refugee Resettlement; Social Capital; *Vietnamese Culture

ABSTRACT

This monograph examines the current state of Vietnamese America, summarizing research findings on Vietnamese children, both those who are native born and those born in Vietnam and raised in the United States. It provides insight into the unique experience of these children in order to help educators, administrators, and social workers deal effectively with their problems and encourage achievement. Section 1, "Displacement: Leaving Vietnam and Arriving in America," discusses "The Vietnam War," "The Refugee Exodus," "Transition: The Refugee Camps," "Government Policies and the Beginning of Vietnamese America," and "Exile, Limbo, and New Life in America." Section 2, "Resettlement: Facing Challenges in the New Land," discusses "Premigration Characteristics of Vietnamese Refugees," "Refugee-Receiving Neighborhoods," "Schools," "The Current State of Vietnamese American Youth," and "Implications for Segmented Assimilation." Section 3, "Social Capital Formation: The Rebuilding of the Family and the Ethnic Community," discusses "The Traditional Vietnamese Family and the American Environment," "Family Values and Morality in Social Relations," and "The System of Multiple Social Integration." Section 4, "Acculturation and its Variants: Key Aspects of School Adaptation," focuses on "Language," "Bicultural Conflicts between Home and School," "Gender Roles," and "Ethnic Involvement." A concluding section discusses "Practical Implications and Recommendations." (Contains 115 references.) (SM)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 439 180

MIN ZHOU AND CARL L. BANKSTON III

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

THE EXPERIENCE OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEE CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES

UD033390

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STRADDLING TWO SOCIAL WORLDS: THE EXPERIENCE OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEE CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES

MIN ZHOU
University of California, Los Angeles

and

CARL L. BANKSTON III
Tulane University

URBAN DIVERSITY SERIES NO. 111
ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON URBAN EDUCATION
INSTITUTE FOR URBAN AND MINORITY EDUCATION
FEBRUARY 2000

ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON URBAN EDUCATION

525 West 120th Street
Box 40
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027
212/678-3433
800/601-4868
212/678-4012 (Fax)
Internet: eric-cue@columbia.edu
World Wide Web Site: http://eric-web.tc.columbia.edu/

Director: Erwin Flaxman
Associate Director: Larry R. Yates
Assistant Director: James M. Lonergan
Managing Editor: Wendy Schwartz

This publication was produced by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), United States Department of Education, under contract number ED-99-CO-0035. Additional support was provided by Teachers College, Columbia University. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position or policies of OERI, the Department of Education, or Teachers College.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION **1**

DISPLACEMENT: LEAVING VIETNAM AND ARRIVING IN AMERICA **5**
The Vietnam War 5
The Refugee Exodus 7
Transition: The Refugee Camps 12
Government Policies and the Beginning of Vietnamese America... 15
Exile, Limbo, and New Life in America 18

RESETTLEMENT: FACING CHALLENGES IN THE NEW LAND **23**
Premigration Characteristics of Vietnamese Refugees 23
Refugee-Receiving Neighborhoods 26
Schools 29
The Current State of Vietnamese American Youth 32
Implications for Segmented Assimilation 36

SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION: THE REBUILDING OF THE FAMILY AND THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY **39**
The Traditional Vietnamese Family and the American Environment 40
Family Values and Morality in Social Relations 45
The System of Multiple Social Integration 51

ACCULTURATION AND ITS VARIANTS: KEY ASPECTS OF SCHOOL ADAPTATION **57**
Language 57
Bicultural Conflicts Between Home and School 63
Gender Roles 68
Ethnic Involvement 71

CONCLUSION: PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS **75**

REFERENCES **80**

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHORS **87**

INTRODUCTION

Educators, counselors, school administrators, juvenile authorities, and others who work with young people today routinely come into contact with the children of Vietnamese refugees. The story of Vietnamese Americans is one of very rapid growth. In the early 1970s, there were fewer than 15,000 Vietnamese in the United States. According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services (U.S. INS), the United States admitted only 4,561 Vietnam-born persons between 1961 and 1970; most were exchange students, trainees, or diplomats on nonimmigrant visas, along with a small number of wives of U.S. servicemen, while almost none were children (Skinner, 1980; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Vietnamese Americans became members of one of America's largest refugee groups, and, thus, increasingly visible in the American ethnic mosaic. By 1990, the group numbered over 615,000, a 40-fold increase in just 15 years; and even this figure understates the true size of the Vietnamese-origin population, since it excludes no fewer than 200,000 Sino-Vietnamese (ethnic Chinese), who fled Vietnam and arrived in the United States as part of the larger refugee outflow from Southeast Asia (Rumbaut, 1995a). At the turn of the new millennium, this refugee group is on the verge of becoming the third largest Asian American group, following the Chinese and Filipinos.

There were virtually no Vietnamese students in American elementary or secondary schools before 1975. However, as this ethnic group has grown with startling rapidity in a short period of time, its younger generation has been rapidly coming of age. As of 1990, 52 percent of all Vietnamese American children under 18 years of age were U.S. born, 27 percent arrived in the United States prior to the age of five, 17 percent arrived between the ages of five and 12, and only four percent arrived as adolescents. In areas of ethnic concentration, such as Orange County, San Jose, San Diego, and Houston, school enrollments of Vietnamese students at every grade level have grown substantially. A 1997 California Department of Education home language census reported that Vietnamese students were the second largest language minority group in the state's schools (Saito, 1999).

The sudden emergence of this new and sizeable ethnic group poses special challenges for those who work with American youth. The Vietnamese come to the United States from a culture that is vastly different from most long-existing American cultures. The parents spent their formative years in Vietnam, holding a set of cultural values, norms, beliefs, behavioral standards, and expectations that may seem at odds with those of the new land. Their children, in contrast, have either diminishing memories of, or little contact with, the homeland and are instead eager to embrace American culture and strive to fit in. Often, they find themselves straddling two social worlds. At home or within their ethnic community, they hear that they must work hard and do well in school in order to move up; on the street they often learn a different lesson, that of rebellion against authority and rejection of the goals of achievement. Today's popular culture, brought to the immigrants through the television screen, exposes children to the lifestyles and consumption standards of American society, raising their expectations well beyond those of their parents. Like other immigrant children, this bicultural conflict defines the experience of Vietnamese children in growing up in America.

Growing up in America has been difficult for the children of the refugees. Unlike most other immigrant groups in American history, the Vietnamese arrived as refugees, though some may hold the legal status of immigrants. As a group, they were uprooted from their homeland under frequently violent and traumatic circumstances. A great majority of them were resettled in the United States by U.S. government agencies and private organizations in cooperation with the government. This history has caused members of the parent generation to face special difficulties of adjustment to the new land. These difficulties affect the children as well. The parents' low socioeconomic status makes it hard for the children to succeed, even though both parents and children desperately want to get ahead. The environment in which the children find themselves further limits their chances: too many live in neighborhoods that are poor and socially isolated, where local schools do not function well and the streets are beset by gang violence and drugs. To all these difficulties are added the generic problems of second generation acculturation, aggravated by the troubles associated with coming of age in an era far more materialistic and individualistic than encountered by immigrant children in years gone by.

Despite the adversities surrounding Vietnamese immigration to the United States, however, Vietnamese children have developed a reputation for outstanding academic achievement. In many school districts around the country, even in schools where there are only a few Vietnamese, Vietnamese American students outperform their native-born peers by large margins and frequently become their school's valedictorians and salutatorians. The students' extraordinary performance in school has puzzled many scholars, educators, social workers, and others who work with youth. At the same time, though, serious social problems plague many Vietnamese families and communities. Vietnamese youth gangs have emerged in many American cities and become notoriously threatening. Some Vietnamese children have frequent scrapes with the law, and even commit violent crimes. Between the valedictorians and the delinquents, ordinary Vietnamese children struggle in school with language problems and with limited knowledge of American society. These ordinary Vietnamese children find themselves in classes where teachers know little about Vietnamese social background and have access to only a few Vietnamese counselors.

The purpose of this monograph is to offer a general account of the current state of Vietnamese America and to summarize existing research findings on Vietnamese children, both those who are native born and those born in Vietnam and raised in United States. Our goal is to provide insight into the unique experience of the young members of this ethnic group new to the U.S. in order to help educators, administrators, social workers, and others who work with them to deal effectively with their problems and to encourage their achievement.

We begin by placing the Vietnamese American population in the historical context of the displacement from Vietnam and resettlement in the United States. The first section, therefore, offers a brief history of the Vietnam War, its resulting refugee exodus, and the arrival of the Vietnamese in the United States. The second section discusses the American context that received Vietnamese refugees, focusing on how premigration characteristics of the parent generation and the resettlement process have affected the adaptation of children. The following section looks at Vietnamese American families and communities. We pay special attention to the ways in which the distinct social processes of Vietnamese family life create a unique form of social capital that can help overcome disadvantages associated with parents' low socioeconomic status and ghettoized conditions in inner-city neighborhoods. The fourth section examines various aspects of the adaptation of Vietnamese children to American society, with a focus on their adaptation to school, since schools are the most central non-familial institution in the lives of these young people. The conclusion uses the information presented here to make practical suggestions, based on current research, for adults who have professional interests in the problems and strengths of Vietnamese American youth.

DISPLACEMENT: LEAVING VIETNAM AND ARRIVING IN AMERICA

A brief recapitulation of the American involvement in Vietnam can provide a historical context for understanding today's Vietnamese American population. The sudden emergence of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians on the American scene was primarily the result of U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia. The United States originally had little economic interest in the region. One ironic consequence of U.S. involvement in the region is that a sizeable part of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos is now in America (Rumbaut, 1995a). As of 1996, over 700,000 refugees from Vietnam, 135,000 from Cambodia, and 210,000 from Laos were admitted to the United States. The development of the Communist bloc dominated by the former Soviet Union, the Communist takeover in China, the direct confrontation with Communist troops in the Korean War, and the threat of the Communist "domino" effect prompted a U.S. foreign policy to "contain" communism, pushing Americans into Southeast Asia.

THE VIETNAM WAR

In 1954 the French army was defeated by Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh Front forces, and Vietnam was divided into two countries: the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), headed by Ho Chi Minh, and the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), headed by Ngo Dinh Diem. In response, the United States, acting on the primary foreign policy objective of containing international Communism, became increasingly dedicated to the preservation of Diem's anti-Communist government in South Vietnam. The U.S. government hoped that its support for South Vietnam would deter the expansion of the power of communist North Vietnam and prevent communism from spreading to other Southeast Asian countries. Meanwhile, many U.S.-based voluntary agencies, Catholic

Relief Services (CARE) and Church World Services among them, were active in South Vietnam in response to the social disruption of war. Thus, the people of South Vietnam began to become better acquainted with Americans and American culture and better connected with Catholicism than their Northern compatriots.

In 1961, President John F.Kennedy sent military advisors to South Vietnam to assist the beleaguered Diem government. However, Diem, born of a Catholic family and relying heavily upon Vietnamese Catholics and Catholic refugees from the North for his suppression of Communist infiltration in the South, began to lose his popularity. In a country where Buddhism dominated, Diem's favoritism toward Catholics created strong resentment, which opened up opportunities for the North Vietnamese-supported insurgents. These insurgents organized themselves as the National Liberation Front, known as the Viet Cong (Vietnamese guerrilla fighters who opposed the South Vietnamese government). Diem also made enemies of other religious groups, such as the Hoa Hao, the Cao Dai, and the Binh Xuyen, who opposed his Catholic favoritism (Bousquet, 1991). In 1963, a military coup overthrew Diem. This coup apparently took place with the knowledge and consent of the American Embassy. The new leaders of South Vietnam proved less able to maintain control than Diem. By 1965, with the South Vietnamese government on the verge of collapse, President Lyndon B. Johnson sent ground troops to South Vietnam. American military and political leaders believed that they would win the war by the end of 1967.

At the beginning of 1968, however, the Viet Cong forces of the South and the Viet Minh troops of the North launched the Tet Offensive, which undermined many Americans' confidence in winning the war. By the early 1970s, American political leaders began to realize that a quick military victory in Vietnam was extremely unlikely, that the American public was divided over the Vietnam War, and that continuing a war that was increasingly unpopular would mean committing American soldiers to an indefinite future.

At the Paris Peace Talks in 1973, the United States agreed on a timetable for withdrawing American soldiers fighting in Vietnam, and turned the war over to the South Vietnamese army with the support of American funding and continued training.

It turned out that the South Vietnamese government was no better prepared to defend itself than it had been in 1965. The U.S. Congress, reluctant to continue any backing at all for the domestically divisive war, cut off aid to South Vietnam, which seriously diminished the chances for survival of the disorganized and unprepared South Vietnamese government. In contrast, the North Vietnamese military, battle-hardened through years of fighting against the Americans and aided by the Viet Cong, found few obstacles in their way. In April 1975, Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, fell to North Vietnamese troops. Vietnam was unified under the Hanoi government, and Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.

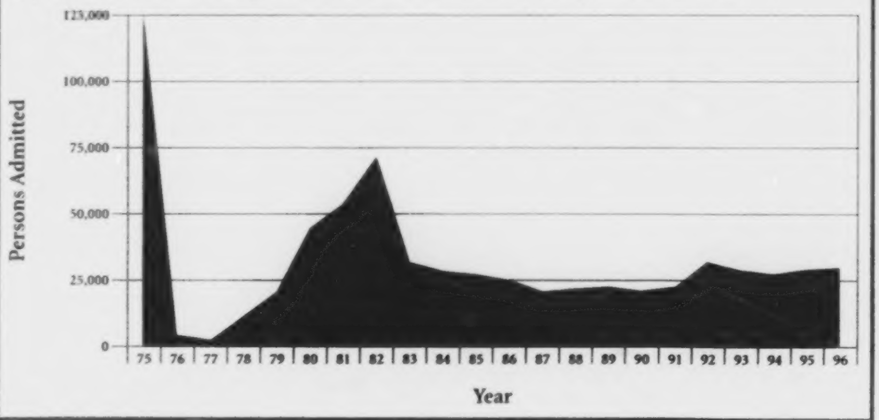
The war caused over 58,000 American and about three million Vietnamese casualties. It also left nightmares, depression, antisocial behavior, and posttraumatic stress disorders that continue to affect Americans and Vietnamese Americans, as well as hundreds and thousands of refugees. In a 1987 study, Lynn R. August and Barbara Gianola (1987) found that many Vietnamese Americans suffered from war-related stress similar to that of American soldiers who had served in Vietnam. Many American-born or -reared children of Vietnamese refugees find the anxieties and the homesickness that their parents have suffered hard to understand. The children's lack of understanding often exacerbates family tensions, widening the generation gap that exists between parents and children of all ethnic backgrounds.

THE REFUGEE EXODUS

Vietnamese refugees fled their country in several significant waves, as shown on Figure 1. The first wave surged at the fall of Saigon in 1975. This group of refugees was made up primarily of

South Vietnamese government officials, U.S. related personnel, and members of the Vietnamese elite. The second wave, which became known as the crisis of the boat people, hit the American shore in the late 1970s. A large proportion of the boat people were Sino-Vietnamese. The third wave occurred in the early 1980s. This group consisted of the boat people as well as those leaving Vietnam under the U.S. Orderly Departure program. In late 1989, a distinct group— Amerasian children and their families—entered the United States in large numbers under the U.S. Homecoming Act. Then, in the early 1990s, another large group of refugees reached the American shore under the U.S. Humanitarian Operation Program. The Vietnamese refugee flight subsided in the mid-1990s. Since then, the arrival of the Vietnamese has become part of the regular family-sponsored immigration.

Figure 1: Vietnamese Refugees Admitted to the United States by Year, 1975-1996



Source: *Statistical Yearbook of the Naturalization Service, 1975-1996.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

The initial flight from Vietnam was touched off by the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and by rumors and fears in the face of an uncertain future. Given the bitterness of the war in Vietnam, the suddenness of South Vietnam's defeat in the Spring of 1975, and rumors about the Hanoi government's intent to execute all former South Vietnamese civil servants, policemen, and other officials, as well as all those who had served the Americans in

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

any capacity, many people left the country, by sea, land, and air.

Before 1977, 130,000 refugees who had fled Vietnam were allowed to settle in the United States on parole status granted by the U.S. government. Those in this initial wave of refugees were mostly members of the elite and the middle class who either had access to the evacuation arranged by the American military or could afford their own means of flight. After the initial airlift of Vietnamese to the U.S. In 1975, thousands of additional refugees fled Vietnam by boat over the next three years. The phrase "boat people" came into common usage as a result of the flood of refugees casting off from Vietnam in overcrowded, leaky boats at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. By 1979, an estimated 400,000 refugees, known as the second wave of flight, escaped Vietnam in boats to Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore (Caplan, Whitmore, & Choy, 1989; Tran, 1991). This mass exodus was disproportionally made up of ethnic minorities, particularly the Sino-Vietnamese, who fled Vietnam after China became involved in Vietnam's war with Cambodia (Chanda, 1986). According to most reports, almost half the boat people perished at sea. The remaining half ended up in camps in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Hong Kong, and other countries in Southeast Asia (Caplan et al., 1989; Chan & Loveridge, 1987; Tran, 1991). Nevertheless, the refugee exodus continued throughout the 1980s.

It seems relatively easy for most Americans to understand why many South Vietnamese fled their country in the early days after the fall of Saigon. But it is more difficult to grasp why the refugees kept fleeing for so many years after the Vietnam War ended, especially considering that the Hanoi government did not plunge the South into a bloodbath as so many had once feared. Several factors account for the lengthy flow of refugees from Vietnam. First, political repression continued to make life difficult for those individuals who were detained at or released from reeducation camps as well as for their family members. Second, economic hardships, exacerbated by natural disasters and poor harvests in the years following the war, created a widespread sense of hopelessness. Third, incessant warfare with neighboring countries further drained Vietnam's resources for capital investment and development. These severely adversarial conditions, triggering the second and third exodus of Vietnamese "boat people" in the late 1970s and early 1980s, continued to send thousands of refugees off on the rugged journey to a better life.

Once the early refugee waves established communities in the United States, the new informal and officially unrecognized ties between America and Vietnam provided an impetus for a continuing outward flow. Upon resettlement in the United States and other Western countries, many Vietnamese refugees rebuilt overseas networks with families and friends. Letters frequently moved between the receiving countries and Vietnam, providing relatives in the homeland with an int-depth knowledge of the changing refugee policies and procedures of resettlement countries.

After peaking in 1982, the influx of refugees slowed somewhat, but it rose sharply between the years 1988 and 1992. From 1990 onward, political prisoners constituted the largest category of Vietnamese refugees admitted to the United States. Some former South Vietnamese civilian and military officials had been imprisoned in reeducation camps in Vietnam since 1975, and many of those who had been released from camps into Vietnamese society were marginal members of a society that discriminated against them and their families in employment, housing, and education. In 1989, the United States and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam agreed that current and former detainees in reeducation camps would be allowed to leave for the United States.

Since the mid-1990s, immigration from Vietnam has begun to assume a different shape. Though a substantial proportion continues to be admitted as refugees, an increasing number have been entering the United States as family-sponsored immigrants, a flow that will probably grow in years to come. As the refugee influx ebbs, family reunification can be expected to dominate Vietnamese immigration into the next century.

Vietnamese Americans are a newly established ethnic population, but they are also a very fast growing population as a result of their continuing immigration. By 1996, over 700,000 refugees from Vietnam had arrived in the United States. The history of exile and hardship has left marks. Many Vietnamese parents pressure their children to excel in school and to enter professional fields such as science, medicine, or engineering because these parents continue to feel the insecurities of the past and to view education as the only ticket to a better life. "My mom and dad have been through so much in their lives," one young woman said, "that now they don't want me to take any chances at all."

There is also a significantly large number of Vietnamese children who do not experience similar parental pressures because their mothers and fathers were left behind in Vietnam. Unaccompanied minors and children with relatives other than parents came to the U.S. without family direction. Even when the children later reunited with parents and family members, normative parent-child relations proved difficult because of the lengthy and severe family disruptions resulting from warfare and the chaotic situation in Vietnam. C.J. Forsyth and Carl Bankston (1997), for example, discuss the case of a young Vietnamese man who had been separated from both parents for over a decade before being reunited with mother and father in the United States. Relations proved impossible to reconstruct and the young man began a career of juvenile delinquency that ultimately ended in a murder conviction. Along similar lines, R.B. McClements-Hammond (1993) found that unaccompanied Vietnamese minors suffered significantly more mental health problems than children living with their families. Disrupted family patterns, as a consequence of uprooting and resettlement rather than divorce, became a problem for many Vietnamese arriving in the United States.

TRANSITION: THE REFUGEE CAMPS

Between exile from Vietnam and entry into American society, many Vietnamese refugees stayed in refugee camps. The earliest of these camps were actually on American soil. With the arrival of 125,000 Vietnamese in May 1975, the U.S. government set up five reception centers: Camp Pendleton, California: Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania; Fort Chaffee, Arkansas; Eglin Air Force Base, Florida; and Guam (Rumbaut, 1995a). Although U.S. authorities intended to disperse the refugees, as discussed below, these early camps helped to create the Vietnamese American communities that would emerge over the following two decades. By bringing Vietnamese together on American soil, the camps enabled them to establish or reestablish social ties and social networks. These reestablished ethnic networks were vital for the adjustment of the displaced Vietnamese in camps and especially critical in providing social support and promoting psychological well-being among the refugees (Harding & Looney, 1977; Liu, Lamanna, & Murata, 1979). During the last four months of 1975, all of the camps on U.S. soil closed down, since Americans generally believed that the Southeast Asian refugee crisis had passed.

The outpouring of refugees from Vietnam and its neighboring countries in 1979 showed, however, that the American entwinement with Southeast Asia could not be so easily consigned to the pages of history books. In July 1979, the United States and other nations responded to the crisis of the "boat people" by pledging to accept more refugees. Rather than admit great numbers without any preparation, the U.S., in cooperation with the United Nations and other individual countries, began to set up overseas refugee camps to control the flow of people.

Refugee camps around Southeast Asia were set up in the early 1980s as holding places for the large numbers of Vietnamese entering other countries as illegal and frequently unwanted aliens. These major processing centers differed from other refugee camps in that they were intended to be temporary residences for individuals bound for third countries. Centers on the Bataan Peninsula in the Philippines, at Galang in Indonesia, and at Phanat Nikhom in Thailand channeled thousands of refugees from Southeast Asia to the United States from the early 1980s to the early 1990s. Most often, refugees would stay in a camp for six months before flying to the United States, although their stay could be extended because of disease or other problems. Although some refugees did not pass through the camps, it was part of the refugee experience for most of those bound for America. Lynn Saito (1999) reported in a recent study of Vietnamese American students in Orange County, California, that 62 percent of the families of her respondents had spent time in a refugee camp. Thirty percent of the families had spent more than six months in a camp.

Life in refugee camps, characterized by transition and isolation from familiar surroundings, subjected refugees to feelings of disorientation and "ontological insecurity" (Chan & Loveridge, 1987). The refugee camps put strains on family relations in some respects, strengthened those relations in others, and began a process of changes in families that would continue in the United States (Zhou & Bankston,1998). Researchers observed that the camps often had a disintegrative effect on families (Williams, 1990), since family members were left behind or lost; thus, the process of fleeing Vietnam and staying in refugee camps broke up many families. However, connections among family members also helped many Vietnamese endure the stresses of camp life. In an important study of Vietnamese American family life, Nazli Kibria (1993) astutely observed that extended family ties were more important to Vietnamese in America than they had been in Vietnam. Much of the increase in interdependence of cousins, in-laws, and other extended family members, even unrelated countrypersons, began to strengthen in the camps.

The camps also saw changes in family roles that would continue in the United States. Children had to take on even greater responsibilities than they had in Vietnam, as they performed household tasks and cared for younger siblings. Those who learned English more quickly than their parents were placed in the position of "language brokers" in the camps, translating the words of English-speaking camp authorities. This new role set a pattern that would continue in the United States (Tse, 1996).

In the camps, refugees were required to attend classes in English, in cultural orientation, and in preparation for the American work environment. In all of these classes, instructors stressed the importance of economic independence. U.S. refugee resettlement officials were concerned that the refugee program would lose its popular support if it were seen as importing people who would become permanent dependents on public assistance. But critics such as James Tollefson (1989) argued that refugee education, by continually harping on the need to get off welfare, was pushing people into minimum wage jobs.

Despite the anti-welfare line so often promoted in the camps, public assistance has been available to refugees upon arrival in the United States, and it has proven indispensable for refugee resettlement. Our own research with refugees, in the camps and afterwards, has led to the conclusion that this assistance left many new Vietnamese Americans emotionally conflicted. On the one hand, they had been repeatedly told, either explicitly or implicitly, that it was shameful to rely on welfare. On the other hand, as discussed below, most of them were placed on public assistance after arrival and had to depend on government funds until they could find other means of support. The drive to establish themselves, already present as a result of the uprooting and transplantation, was intensified by their paradoxical experience of feeling shameful about receiving welfare while nevertheless having to accepts it in order to survive. Achieving some measure of material success became a goal for many Vietnamese refugees, and they communicated this drive to their children.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND THE BEGINNING OF VIETNAMESE AMERICA

U.S. refugee policies have something of an *ad hoc* character, developed as a series of responses to unforeseen and changing policies. When President Gerald R. Ford authorized the entry of 130,000 refugees from the three countries of Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), 125,000 of whom were Vietnamese, into the United States on April 18, 1975, he was reacting to the victory of Communist forces in those countries with a one-time action. But the refugee exodus showed no sign of slowing down. The resettlement continued as a result of the lobbying of concerned American citizens and organizations, and the refugee crisis of 1979 and 1980 created pressure for a new refugee policy. The Refugee Act of 1980 became the most comprehensive piece of refugee legislation in U.S. history. In place of the "seventh preference category" established in 1965, which admitted refugees as part of the total number of immigrants allowed into the United States, the Refugee Act provided for an annual number of admissions for refugees, which was designated independent of the number of immigrants admitted and was to be established each year by the President in consultation with Congress. This legislative Act, then, became a policy of refugee resettlement, reflecting a continuing process, rather than a mere reaction to specific emergency events.

Those who work with Vietnamese youth will frequently hear them say that their parents came to the United States as "ODPs." Sometimes the young people themselves do not know the meaning of these initials. The Orderly Departure Program (ODP) was created in late May 1979 as an agreement between the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the Hanoi government as a tentative solution to worldwide attention attracted by the boat people. The ODP allowed those interviewed and approved for resettlement in America by U.S. officials in Vietnam to leave by plane with their Vietnamese passports. This group was made up mostly of former South Vietnamese soldiers, who had been in prison or reeducation camps, and their families. By 1989, 165,000 Vietnamese had been admitted to the U.S. under the Orderly Departure Program and by the mid-1990s the number had grown to over 200,000.

In the late 1980s, the United States government, with the cooperation of the government of Vietnam, developed a program designed to bring the sons and daughters of former U.S. servicemen from Vietnam to America. One of the side effects of the American presence in Vietnam is the existence of thousands of Amerasian children, most of whom were born between the years 1965 and 1973, although a few were born as early as 1960 and some as late as 1975. The physically distinct Amerasians lived in Vietnam as impoverished castaways, ostracized by a society that referred to them as bui doi (literally, children of the "dust of life"), which could be taken as the equivalent of calling someone "trash" in English. As early as 1975, the United States government admitted Amerasians to the United States as immigrants, but granted them eligibility for assistance benefits as refugees. Before the Amerasian Homecoming Act, about 6,000 Amerasians and 11,000 of their relatives left Vietnam legally under the ODP provisions. It was difficult to pin down the actual number of Amerasians remaining in Vietnam because no official census was taken. U.S. officials estimated about 10,000 but Vietnamese officials put the number at 16,000. In 1988, the U.S. Congress passed the Amerasian Homecoming Act which lifted quotas on Amerasian immigration and directed the U.S. government to bring as many of the Vietnamese American children to the United States as possible. Under the Act, the United States cut to a minimum the documentary requirements for an Amerasian to leave Vietnam. After Amerasians and their Vietnamese families were allowed a special status under the Amerasian Homecoming Act in 1988, Amerasian children in Vietnam suddenly turned "golden children," because they became an easy means to leave Vietnam; many Vietnamese families claimed them in order to emigrate. Approximately 17,000 Amerasians and about 65,000 of their accompanying family members have been resettled in the U.S. under this Act as of 1993.

As a consequence of the Amerasian Homecoming Act, many Vietnamese communities in the United States contain a visible minority of children with European American or African American ancestry. Although many Amerasians identified strongly with their absent American fathers before coming to the United States, as Steven DeBonis (1995) makes clear, they are also culturally Vietnamese. Having been taught all of their lives that they are not really Vietnamese, they came to America only to find that they are not "American" either. Many of them, moreover, have lived lives of extreme hardship and deprivation (Bemak & Chung, 1998; McKelvey & Webb, 1995). Amerasian children and the children of Amerasians (many of whom have now been born in the United States) thus often encounter special problems of identity.

Since 1990, political prisoners and their families have constituted the largest category of Vietnamese refugees admitted to the United States. Some former South Vietnamese civilian and military officials had been imprisoned in reeducation camps in Vietnam since 1975, and many of those who had been released from camps into Vietnamese society were marginal members of a society that discriminated against them and their families in employment, housing, and education. In 1989, the United States and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam agreed that current and former detainees in reeducation camps would be allowed to leave for the United States under the Humanitarian Operation (HO) Program. More than 70,000 people have arrived in the United States as a result. Former political prisoners are often referred to in Vietnamese American communities as "HOs," and they have formed mutual assistance organizations with names such as the "HO Union." The HOs and their families have been arriving in the United States in a context that is vastly different from the early Vietnamese refugees. Vietnamese American communities have been fully established in many parts of the United States and the former political prisoners often have relatives in these communities who can provide support networks.

The arrival of the political prisoners contributed to the continuing importance of home country politics in many Vietnamese American communities. Although younger generations are beginning to question the ideological conformity of their elders, many first generation Vietnamese are deeply anti-Communist in their attitudes. The result of the "circle the wagons" mentality fostered by this history is that older Vietnamese can be suspicious of rebels or unconventional individuals within their own ethnic group. In March 1999, for example, a Vietnamese video shop owner in the Little Saigon community of Westminster, California, was threatened by thousands of angry protestors when the shop owner hung a flag of unified Vietnam and a portrait of Ho Chi Minh on his wall (Foote, 1999). The heightened pressure for conformity tends to subject Vietnamese American children to more intense social controls than those experienced by other American children. At the same time, these social controls can drive rebellious children into intense reactions against adult expectations.

EXILE, LIMBO, AND NEW LIFE IN AMERICA

The fact that the Vietnamese generally arrived in the United States as refugees means that they came under the guidance of government or voluntary agencies. Unlike most immigrants, who are sponsored either by close families or by U.S. employers and can make decisions about where to settle in the United States, refugees are often sponsored by the government or by voluntary agencies of the receiving country and cannot choose their places of resettlement. In the case of the Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian refugees who did not have established ethnic communities in the United States to assist them, the U.S. government-sponsored resettlement agencies, known as VOLAGs, usually made the decision about their settlement location (Lanphier, 1983; Montero, 1979).

The VOLAGs, or volunteer agencies, were private charitable organizations under contract to the United States government. Although the government set the general outline of refugee policy, the volunteer agencies were largely charged with implementing that policy. Therefore, although refugees were sent to states around the U.S. as a result of the policy of dispersion, VOLAGs frequently helped create small concentrations within those states. For example, a study of a Vietnamese community in New Orleans found that private agency officials fostered its ethnic concentration (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Many VOLAG officials who worked for Vietnamese refugees gradually came to believe that new arrivals would do better if they could rely on one another for mutual support and assistance, and therefore helped the refugees organize themselves into Mutual Assistance Associations (MAAs). The MAAs are private, nonprofit organizations dedicated to assisting the adjustment of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian refugees to American society. About 1,000 MAAs were organized between the early 1980s and the mid-1990s. They receive annual funding from the Office of Refugee Resettlement to provide such services as job training, cultural preservation programs, language classes, and a variety of social services.

Scattering Southeast Asian refugees around the country to minimize the impact of resettlement on local communities was an initial policy goal. Indeed, the Vietnamese have established a presence even in those Midwest and Mountain states least populated by recent immigrants. However, many volunteer agencies have actually helped create ethnic residential neighborhoods and Vietnamese organizations. As time went by, distinctive Vietnamese communities emerged, through secondary migration, in large metropolitan areas that are the most popular destinations for many recent immigrants of varying nationalities. The early dispersion followed by substantial regrouping created Vietnamese American populations in many locations around the U.S., with a few large concentrations functioning as ethnic centers.

Vietnamese refugees have endured severe exit conditions (e.g., the traumatic flight combined with poor human capital and economic resources) and unfavorable contexts of reception (e.g., a lack of preexisting community ties, high levels of dependency, and an ambivalent and sometimes hostile public). However, over the course of a decade or so of adjustment, they have made progress in assimilating into American society. Even with a continuously large refugee influx, 1990 Census data show a number of quite striking improvements over the pattern observed ten years earlier. In the ten-year period between 1980 and 1990, the percentage of Vietnamese who did not speak English very well had decreased from 42 percent to 34 percent. The proportion of college graduates among adults age 25 and over was 17 percent, up from 13 percent. The labor force participation rate of Vietnamese age 16 and over had grown from 57 percent to 65 percent, equaling that of the American population in general. Ethnic entrepreneurship burgeoned to 7 percent as compared to 3 percent in 1980. As their human capital and labor force status steadily improved, so too did their economic well-being. By 1990, the median household income of the Vietnamese stood at $29,772, more than double what it had been the previous decade and almost equal to the median income of all American households. Home ownership was 49 percent, up from 27 percent in 1980. The poverty rate stood at 24 percent, down from 35 percent in 1980. Despite significant improvements, the Vietnamese still lagged behind their American counterparts economically; substantially more Vietnamese families than average American families are still struggling below the poverty line. Their economic gains have come by virtue of hard work and cooperation. The 1990 Census reported that more than one out of every five Vietnamese families contained three or more workers.

The epic narrative of flight from Vietnam and resettlement in America has become a central shared memory of the Vietnamese American population. Those who personally survived these events and who are old enough to remember them continue to be haunted by them. Paul J. Rutledge (1992) recounted the stories of a young teenaged girl raped by pirates at sea and of a young man who, escaping from Vietnam across Cambodia at the age of nine, was captured and beaten by Vietnamese soldiers. Those who arrived under the auspices of the Orderly Departure Program or the Humanitarian Operation may be free of these kinds of horrific experiences, but they must still deal with memories of loved ones left behind and with the loss of the world of early childhood. Those who stayed in refugee camps experienced the extreme anxiety and insecurity of their families. Stays in camps were especially difficult for young people who were separated from their families (Harding & Looney, 1977). Children in refugee camps had to assume adult tasks and responsibilities and they suffered from the general disruption of their lives (Williams, 1990)

U.S.-born Vietnamese children and those who arrived in the United States as infants have no clear personal memory of life in Vietnam, of the flight from the ancestral land, or of life in refugee camps. But they are still deeply affected by family histories and quasi-mythical accounts of life in the host country. Older generations pass on stories of the struggle to reach the new country. Even when the children dismiss these stories as remnants of a bygone era, the trials of the parents continue to influence their understanding of family history.

The question of conformity to parental cultures or rebellion against them is faced by most young people with immigrant parents. But for Vietnamese youth, the fact that their parents are not simply immigrants, but refugees, adds a unique dimension to their outlook on life. Hardship in Vietnam and the process of exile have become a central family narrative, a shared story that shapes understanding and behaviors. Since they are political refugees, as well as people struggling to make lives in a new and unfamiliar society, adult Vietnamese Americans can be deeply suspicious of nonconformity within their own ethnic group. This contributes to a tendency, discussed below, to place children into categories of "good kids" and "bad kids," with approval and support given almost exclusively to the former.

The disruptions of warfare and flight meant that Vietnamese families were not simply transferred from Southeast Asia to the United States. As Kibria (1993) has argued, Vietnamese families were reconstructed on American soil, with numerous changes. Sometimes the reconstruction has been inadequate and this has resulted in many of the problems faced by Vietnamese American children. However, family life has taken on an added importance as a source of support and comfort.

Vietnamese communities in the United States are also reconstructions and not simply importations from the former country. Exile, uncertain transition, and arrival in an alien world have in some ways actually strengthened ethnic ties among the Vietnamese. Since the Vietnamese did not initially come into existing ethnic neighborhoods, they have had to build ethnic communities rather than simply settle in them. This has given Vietnamese American social groups and organizations a dynamic quality and an energy that have been communicated to many of their children. At the same time, the children who fail to fit in with the efforts at reconstruction can find themselves utterly rejected.

The following sections of this monograph suggest that those who work with Vietnamese American children would do well to understand these children in terms of the social contexts of family and community. We maintain that these institutions can provide "social capital," sets of social relationships that can, if properly utilized, promote advantageous outcomes. We will also attempt to identify the situations under which these family and community relationships can lead to negative outcomes. Before we do that, however, it will be helpful to look more closely at the forms of family and community structures that emerged after resettlement in the United States.

RESETTLEMENT: FACING CHALLENGES IN THE NEW LAND

The Vietnamese arrived in the U.S. to face challenges quite different from those encountered by other immigrants in recent years. We now look at some of their native characteristics, the circumstances they and their children found in postindustrial America, and how their homeland culture affected their assimilation.

PREMIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEES

Refugees from Vietnam and other parts of Southeast Asia differ from other contemporary immigrants in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. With the exception of the first wave of evacuees from South Vietnam in 1975, most of the Vietnamese were of rural origins. Many of them had minimal formal education, few marketable skills, little English language proficiency, and scant knowledge of the ways of a highly industrialized society—assets that would ease their passage into America. Further, they lacked a preexisting ethnic community that could help out with assistance of varying sorts (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Southeast Asian refugees are also significantly different from other post World War II refugees, such as those who fled Cuba and the former Soviet Union. Most of the Cuban and Soviet refugees did not have to endure lengthy hardships in refugee camps and some were able to carry with them personal/financial assets of varying sorts.

Table 1 presents some demographic characteristics of foreign-born Vietnamese in the United States, the U.S.-born Vietnamese population, the U.S. foreign-born population overall, and the total U.S. population. As of 1990, an overwhelming majority of Vietnamese Americans were foreign born, compared to less than one-tenth of the American population as a whole. Nearly two-thirds of them arrived in the United States after 1980. Largely as a consequence of their recent arrival, two-thirds of the foreign-born

Vietnamese reported that they could not speak English very well. The Vietnamese also showed low levels of educational attainment: 41 percent had less than a high school education, compared to less than a quarter of the American population as a whole. The limited educational credentials of the Vietnamese are particularly notable in light of the fact that other post-1965 immigrants from Asia "are generally highly educated and have had white-collar and professional occupations in their countries of origin" (Min, 1995, p. 17). Foreign-born Vietnamese were also much younger, compared to the U.S. foreign-born population and total U.S. population; the median age of the U.S.-born Vietnamese was only seven years, a fact that underlines the youthfulness of this refugee group. Among foreign-born Vietnamese, the sex ratio is more skewed, with a greater number of males than among other immigrants. Individual escapees from political persecution or dire economic circumstances are typically disproportionally male. Unlike other refugee groups where male adults were in disproportionate numbers, Vietnamese refugees made an enormous effort to get all family members out or to arrange their escape rather than leave them behind (Liu et al., 1979). One consequence of this premigration characteristic is that many children entered the U.S. with their parents. The number of these refugee children combines with the number of Vietnamese children born in the United States to make up a large segment of the contemporary Vietnamese population.

Upon arrival in the United States, Vietnamese households were usually large and extended, including minor children, unmarried grown children, married children, grandchildren, other relatives, and even non-relatives. A study of the initial group of refugees conducted in 1975 showed that approximately two-thirds of them arrived in family units (including non-relatives who claimed to be family members for the sake of resettlement); the rest were single individuals. Among those fleeing with their families, half were in families with five to ten members, 7 percent were in families with more than ten members, and the rest were in families with two to

Table 1: Selected Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics:
Foreign Born Vietnamese, All Foreign Born Persons, and All Persons in the United States, 1990

Characteristics	Foreign Born Vietnamese Population	U.S. Born Vietnamese Population	All U.S. Foreign Born Population	U.S. Population Overall
Foreign born in group[1]	—	—	—	7.9%
Arrived in the U.S. after 1980	61.8%	—	56.2%	3.5%
Don't speak English well[2]	66.2%	34.7%	47.0%	6.1%
Less than high school education[3]	40.8%	32.3%	41.2%	24.8%
Women as a percentage of group	47.5%	49.6%	51.1%	51.3%
Median age	30.3 yrs	6.8 yrs	37.3 yrs	33.0 yrs

[1] Foreign born persons as a percentage of group's total populations.
[2] Among persons 5 years or older.
[3] Among persons 25 years or older.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993.

four members. The modal family size exclusive of single individuals was five to six (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, HEW, 1975a; 1975b). Another study conducted in 1977 showed that about a third of the Vietnamese households sampled consisted of six to nine persons, and 5 percent consisted of ten or more persons (Montero, 1979).

Despite a steady decrease in household size following resettlement, Vietnamese households have remained larger than those of the general American population. In 1990, Vietnamese households had an average number of four persons, and households with children had an average number of six persons (compared with three and four in the U.S. population). One respondent in a study of Vietnamese adolescents in New Orleans reported being fourteenth child in the family, and only a few reported being the only children (Bankston & Zhou, 1995).

The Vietnamese, then, did not arrive in the United States as isolated individuals. Although their family lives have changed and are changing in response to the new environment, they did manage to transport the family, a basic form of social organization, to the United States from Vietnam. As discussed below, maintaining these

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

families does involve a certain amount of straddling a cultural gap between parents who spent formative years in Vietnam and children who are growing up in America. To look at the kinds of challenges that Vietnamese families face, it is necessary first to know about the kind of social environment that surrounds them. We now turn to a brief discussion of the neighborhoods that received Vietnamese families and of the schools that received their young people.

REFUGEE-RECEIVING NEIGHBORHOOD

Although the early U.S. refugee policy of dispersion led to the placement of Vietnamese in various locations around the United States, secondary migration and the growing trend of established Vietnamese Americans to act as sponsors for newer arrivals have contributed to Vietnamese residential concentrations. Today, many Vietnamese have converged in California, but visible Vietnamese neighborhoods can also be found in states that historically receive few Asian immigrants, such as Texas and Louisiana. In the 1980 Census, over a third of the Vietnamese reported living in California, and another 10 percent in Texas. By 1990, 46 percent of the Vietnamese had settled or resettled in California alone, a 12 percentage point increase. Within states, the Vietnamese tend to concentrate in a handful of metropolitan areas. For example, as of 1990, over three-quarters of California's Vietnamese population lived in four metropolitan areas: Orange County, Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Jose. In Texas, 44 percent of the Vietnamese resided in Houston. In Maryland and Virginia, 76 percent of the Vietnamese lived in Washington, DC. In Washington State, 71 percent of the Vietnamese lived in Seattle. In Louisiana, close to two-thirds of the Vietnamese lived in New Orleans (Zhou, in press).

The Vietnamese neighborhoods that came into existence over the course of the 1970s and 1980s are generally located in or around large cities. They are not merely residential centers; rather they serve as centers of Vietnamese culture and ethnic identity. Even the Vietnamese who do not live in ethnic neighborhoods have ties to them, and the neighborhoods are important to the lives of most Vietnamese American youth.

Little Saigon in Orange County was the largest Vietnamese community in the United States by the end of the Twentieth Century, containing the greatest concentration of Vietnamese people outside of Vietnam. According to Census Bureau figures, there were over 70,000 Vietnamese in Little Saigon in 1990. Local Vietnamese leaders, however, claimed that members of their ethnic group in fact numbered twice that many. An ethnic enclave economy has taken shape and thrived in Little Saigon, with a Chamber of Commerce of more than 2,000 coethnic members. The community is also home to dozens of service agencies and Vietnamese Buddhist or Catholic religious organizations.

While Little Saigon represents the largest Vietnamese ethnic economy and highest ethnic organizational density in the country, community development in San Jose, the second largest Vietnamese community in the United States, has witnessed similar patterns and trends. Other Vietnamese communities around the country have also developed their ethnic business clusters and ethnic organizational cores. Studies have found that ethnic entrepreneurship has been the norm in community development for almost every Vietnamese community in the United States (Leba, 1985; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

While Little Saigon started out in a suburban community in southern California, most other Vietnamese concentrations are found in low-income, and often inner-city, neighborhoods, which forms a crucial context of American reception for Vietnamese newcomers. The nature of American reception at the neighborhood level may be illustrated with brief descriptions of some Vietnamese communities. Of the Vietnamese residing in San Diego, the sixth largest metropolitan area for Vietnamese settlement in the United States, 81 percent are concentrated in the central city, making up the fourth largest racial/ethnic minority group following Mexicans, blacks, and Filipinos (Zhou, in press). Of the 15 Census tracts where Vietnamese were overrepresented (at least five percent), 12 of them had a high concentration of immigrants (ranging from 30 percent to 44 percent); seven of them had an extremely high poverty rate (over 25 percent); and four had a poverty rate above the national average (16-24 percent). A survey of Vietnamese high school students in San Diego found that the most students are concerned with safety issues related to drugs, gangs, and fear of retaliation. "Only 55 percent of the survey respondents felt that they lived in a safe neighborhood. Fifty-two percent indicated that they had fears about being asked to become gang members" (Davis & McDaid, 1992, p. 38).

The Vietnamese community in New Orleans is another case in point. Most of the Vietnamese in New Orleans are concentrated in the Versailles neighborhood at the eastern edge of city. This neighborhood is also a typical urban neighborhood: socioeconomically underprivileged and dominated by native minorities, namely African Americans. The 1990 Census shows that the area's median family income was only $17,440, that 37 percent of families lived below the poverty level, and that the unemployment rate among males in the labor force was 13 percent. The Vietnamese in this neighborhood were even more disadvantaged: they had a median family income of only $15,841, over half of the families lived in poverty, and male unemployment rate was 16 percent.

There are severe structural constraints associated with living in poor urban neighborhoods. First, the opportunities for social mobility are not simply limited, but diminishing. The gap between rich and poor has been widening in the United States during precisely the 20-year period that most Vietnamese have been making their homes in this country. During the second half of this period, from 1979 to 1989, the average income of the top five percent of American wage earners increased from $120,253 to $148,438 in constant dollars. At the same time, the average income of the lowest 20 percent decreased from $9,990 to $9,431 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984; 1994). This growing inequality has been accompanied by changes in the geographic distribution of members of different socioeconomic categories. As American manufacturing has contracted, the members of the middle class have moved in growing numbers to the suburbs, while poverty has become concentrated in urban pockets (Herbers, 1986; Muller, 1981). Lower income neighborhoods, thus, provide fewer opportunities for upward mobility than they did in the past.

The limited opportunities for mobility also mean frustration and undesirable social environments for many people living in America's poor communities. The unemployed poor have replaced the working poor in many parts of urban America (Wilson, 1996). Low-income areas have become marginal to U.S. economic life and their residents, especially the children, have become socially isolated. Consequently, Vietnamese who come into daily contact with these marginalized neighborhoods have become extremely vulnerable to the social problems associated with poverty, such as acute delinquency, drugs, and gang violence, and to the negative influence of the adversarial youth subcultures (Long, 1996; Vigil & Yun, 1990). In fact, the evolving Vietnamese youth delinquency problems are so real and sometimes life-threatening that they have become the number one concern in Vietnamese communities across the nation. A 1994 *Los Angeles Times* poll showed that the greatest number of Vietnamese in Southern California named crime, street violence, and gangs as their chief community problems (Los Angeles Times, 1994). Bankston and Steve Caldas (1996a) attribute the growth of Vietnamese delinquency to the influence of socioeconomic marginalization at the neighborhood level, pointing out that Vietnamese American delinquents have adopted the styles and modes of behavior of America's disadvantaged and socially marginalized youth who are trapped in ghettoized inner-city neighborhoods.

SCHOOLS

As noted, Vietnamese parents tend to have relatively low levels of English language proficiency and education and few financial resources. Table 2 shows that in 1990 Vietnamese children, especially the first generation (those arriving in the U.S. as adolescents) and 1.5 generation (those arriving in the U.S. as young children), lived in families in which the majority of the household heads had poor English proficiency, and were less likely than white household heads to have a college education or a professional occupation, but more likely to be unemployed. Even though second generation children fared better (not because they were born in the U.S. but because their parents had been in the U.S. longer), they still lagged behind their white counterparts by significantly large margins. Over a quarter of Vietnamese second generation children lived below the poverty level, twice the proportion of white children. Nearly half of the first and 1.5 generation Vietnamese children lived in poverty and they were much less likely to live in owner-occupied housing. Most researchers have found that parental education and family socioeconomic status are strong predictors of residential location and school performance. Thus, disadvantaged family background places Vietnamese youth at a serious disadvantage as to where they live and attend school. While second generation children seem to be in families that are better off in socioeconomic terms than black children,

Table 2: Educational and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Households with Vietnamese Children (by Generation), Black Children, and White Children, 1990

Characteristics	Vietnamese			Black (%)	White (%)
	First Generation (%)	1.5 Generation (%)	Second Generation (%)		
Household Head's Characteristics					
Does Not Speak English Very Well	58.9	56.7	32.9	—	—
College Graduate	8.0	9.9	18.1	9.4	25.7
Professional Occupation	6.3	8.0	15.7	12.6	27.1
Unemployed[1]	12.2	9.3	6.4	12.6	3.7
Family Economic Status					
Poverty	47.6	45.0	28.7	40.6	10.8
Home Ownership	18.2	28.5	52.7	38.7	74.1
Median Household Income	$20,000	$20,444	$32,000	$19,500	$37,725

[1] Among those who are in the labor force.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992.

they are still operating at a distinct disadvantage compared to whites.

Vietnamese children also faced problems in their schools. A growing body of research supports the common sense view that the school performance of students is affected by the backgrounds of schoolmates, as well as by their own backgrounds (see Bankston & Caldas, 1996b; Caldas & Bankston, 1997; Coleman, 1990). Going to school with socially or economically underprivileged peers not only exposes students to an oppositional youth subculture that is frequently not conducive to academic achievement, but also places them at higher risk of low motivation and disruptive behavior.

Public school enrollment in the United States depends on the place of residence, which means that those who live in low-income neighborhoods generally attend schools with other children from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. The Vietnamese, like members of many other minority groups in the United States, tend to be concentrated in some of the most disadvantaged social environments. Existing research shows that native minorities and immigrants are heavily concentrated in urban public schools and that these schools are suffering from rapid deterioration as members of the middle class continue to abandon the city for the suburbs (Hochschild, 1984). The Los Angeles metropolitan region, the site of the largest concentration of Vietnamese in the United States, exemplifies this trend: the Los Angeles Unified School District identified 87 percent of the students in the district as "minority" and 40 percent as having limited English proficiency in the mid-1990s (Lopez, 1996).

Other school districts with large numbers of Vietnamese children have similar characteristics. In San Diego, the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS, 1992; 1995) found that most Vietnamese families lived in mixed neighborhoods with mostly other immigrants and with non-whites native minorities. Over 60 percent of the Vietnamese adolescents attended schools where white students were the numerical minority, 49 percent were enrolled in inner city schools, and 48 percent were in schools where over half of the students qualified for a subsidized lunch, an indicator of poverty. The average size of the schools was 1,447, though the student population of many inner-city schools in San Diego varied from year to year. One of the inner-city schools included in the CILS study provides an illustrative example. In 1992, Hoover High School had an enrollment of a little over 2,000 students, of whom 16 percent were white, 17 percent black, 33 percent Latino, and 34 percent Asian. About 66 percent of the students were so poor that they qualified for free school lunches (Zhou, in press). In 1998, a *Los Angeles Times* article reported that, of Hoover High School's 1,900 students, only about 5 percent were white, 20 percent were black, roughly 50 were percent Latino, and 20 were percent Asian; and that the majority of students qualified for free school lunches (Woo, 1998).

Further, the public high school that most of the Vietnamese students in the Versailles neighborhood of New Orleans attended presents similar school conditions to those in Hoover High School in San Diego. The roughly 300 Vietnamese students make up about 20 percent of the school's total population of about 1,500 students, with African Americans making up about 77 percent. The remaining three percent are whites and Hispanics. Most of the students (69 percent) come from families with incomes low enough to qualify for the Federal free and reduced lunch program, although whites tend to be underrepresented in this program. Almost all of the Vietnamese (84 percent) come from low-income families, as indicated by their qualification for free or reduced price lunches (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). The results of the California Achievement Test given in 1992 showed that only 13 percent of the students in this school equalled or exceeded the 50th percentile of the California Achievement Test, while over half (53 percent) of them equaled or fell below the 25th percentile (New Orleans School Board, 1993).

THE CURRENT STATE OF VIETNAMESE AMERICAN YOUTH

Even though many Vietnamese children grow up in poor families, live in inner-city neighborhoods, and attend urban public schools that many American middle-class families have abandoned, they are making remarkable progress in education. As of 1990, Vietnamese adolescents were less likely than their American peers to drop out of high school, and Vietnamese young adults were more likely than their American peers to attend college. For example, in the Los Angeles metropolitan region, the dropout rate among U.S.-born Vietnamese age 16-19 was 5 percent, compared with 8 percent among whites; the high school dropout rate among U.S.-born Vietnamese adults age 18-24 was nine percent compare with 11 percent among whites; and the college attendance rate among U.S.-born Vietnamese was 50 percent compared with 38 percent among whites (Cheng & Yang, 1996). These trends, should they continue, foreshadow a catch-up and eventual surpassing of the U.S. educational norm.

Though the record mainly highlights progress, there are also troubling trends. The 1990 Census data revealed that Vietnamese adolescents were disproportionally more likely than their other Asian counterparts to be institutionalized, mostly in correctional facilities. They constituted a quarter of all institutionalized Asian adolescents, though in absolute numbers relatively few of them were confined to correctional facilities. In terms of rate of institutionalization, Vietnamese adolescents ranked second among racial/ethnic minority groups (210 per 100,000), after blacks (695 per 100,000), and higher than all other Asian groups (93 per 100,000). Noticeably, this phenomenon was a problem of youth: while the rate of institutionalization for all Vietnamese was 140 per 100,000, the rate for minors under 18 was 210 per 100,000. This contrast took on an additional meaning in that while institutionalized Vietnamese adults were almost all foreign born, the delinquent youths were the products either of refugee flight (as many were unaccompanied minors) or of the U.S. experience (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Youth gangs have also been a serious problem plaguing Vietnamese communities around the country (Vigil & Yun, 1990).

Even if we focus our attention on the high-performing

Vietnamese children, we can still find problems resulting from the cultural gap that they are attempting to bridge. That many Vietnamese American youth are apparently doing well in American schools can cause us to overlook the fact that doing well and being well may be two entirely different matters. Student responses to psychological and emotional measures in the 1994 National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, or Add Health (Carolina Population Center, 1998), suggest that contemporary Vietnamese American adolescents are prone to greater uncertainties, self-doubts, and emotional difficulties than other American adolescents. On questions regarding general psychological state, as presented on Table 3, Vietnamese American youths consistently show troubling patterns of self-evaluation as compared to black and white adolescents. The Vietnamese are the least likely to say that they have a lot to be proud of, that they like themselves as they are, that they have many good qualities, that they are doing everything just about right, and that they feel socially accepted.

Table 3: Self-Evaluations of Vietnamese, White, and Black Students*

Self-Evaluation	Vietnamese (%)	White (%)	Black (%)
I have a lot to be proud of	70.0	89.6	95.0
I like myself as I am	66.7	76.0	82.5
I have many good qualities	73.3	90.9	95.4
I am doing everything just about right	40.0	68.6	71.8
I feel socially accepted	66.7	85.0	87.6

*Reported "agree" or "strongly agree" with the listed statements.
Group differences for all items are statistically significant at $p < .001$.

Source: Carolina Population Center, 1998.

Vietnamese adolescents' responses to the Add Health survey items regarding their emotional state at the time of the interview are as troubling as their responses to items regarding general psychological self-evaluation. As a part of the Add Health survey, respondents are asked how often they have experienced a number of feelings or emotions during the previous week. On each item, Vietnamese adolescents less frequently gave positive responses to positive emotions but more frequently gave positive answers to negative emotions than did their black or white peers. For example, as shown on Table 4, while a clear majority (73 percent) of the Vietnamese said that they enjoyed life at least a lot of the time during the previous week, this frequency was the lowest among three groups of adolescents considered. They were slightly less likely than the others to report frequently feeling hopeful about the future during the previous week. Similarly, Vietnamese young people reported feeling happy and as good as other people less often than other adolescents did. In contrast, Vietnamese adolescents were most likely of all three groups to indicate that they frequently felt fearful and depressed, and that their lives had been failures.

Table 4: Personal Perceptions of Vietnamese, White, and Black Students*

Perception	Vietnamese (%)	White (%)	Black (%)
I enjoy life	73.3	81.9	77.4
I feel hopeful about the future	62.1	65.9	65.3
I feel happy	70.0	80.4	75.7
I feel as good as other people	33.3	35.8	41.4
I feel fearful	10.0	3.0	4.3
I feel my life has been a failure	6.9	2.9	5.2
I feel depressed	16.7	9.2	10.2

* Report having the listed feelings "a lot of the time" to "almost all of the time" during the previous week; group differences for all items are statistically significant at $p < .01$.

Source: Carolina Population Center, 1998.

The story of Vietnamese refugees and their children is one of remarkably successful adaptation to American society as well as continuing struggles to get ahead in the new land. This dual pattern of adaptation is taking place in the presence of tremendous pressures both from outside their ethnic group and within it. Although they arrived with few material resources and were initially settled in declining urban neighborhoods, the Vietnamese have managed to rebuild their own ethnic communities for mutual assistance. Many

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

of these communities have rapidly become flourishing features on the American landscape, but they meanwhile tend to be located in lower income sections of American cities. This structural context of reception has subjected the young people of this newly-arrived ethnic group to external pressures of some of the most troubled sectors of contemporary American society; it has also placed them in some of the least desirable school environments.

With these kinds of pressures, a sound and stable family life can take on an added importance. Indeed, the Vietnamese have managed to come in family units, and, as suggest below, this pattern of family migration has been a major source of strength for group members. At the same time, though, dislocation and resettlement have placed strains on family life. Du Phuoc Long (1996) has attributed the spread of Vietnamese youth gangs to the disintegration of family life. In the cases of the most troubled youth, "disintegration" may not be too strong a word. Even average, outwardly well-adjusted children are showing signs that the aftermath of resettlement is not as smooth as commonplace stories of Vietnamese valedictorians would suggest.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SEGMENTED ASSIMILATION

In an article on the position of immigrants in contemporary American society, Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993) offered a modification of traditional assimilationist views on the adaptation of immigrants. From the classical assimilationist perspective, expressed in the work of Milton Gordon (1964), people arrive in a new country culturally distinct from those who are already there. The language, customs, and patterns of behavior all set the new arrivals apart. The new immigrants initially have few friends or contacts among the older residents. The former are typically on the margins of the society of their host country, with only limited economic opportunities. Over the course of generations, though, the children or grandchildren of immigrants gradually lose all of their distinctive traits. They become absorbed into the host society, achieving upward mobility through assimilation.

Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that the children of contemporary immigrants are particularly vulnerable to "downward assimilation," moving into positions of disadvantage in the new land. They point out that, unlike earlier immigrants, most contemporary immigrants are non-European. As physically identifiable nonwhites, the children of these immigrants can meet barriers of prejudice or stereotyping from the host society. Thus, it may be more difficult for them to melt into the American middle class than it was for the children of earlier immigrants. And, indeed, the Vietnamese have met with some prejudice from other Americans.

Prejudice or stereotypical views on Asians may not, of course, be insurmountable. However, Portes and Zhou point out that contemporary immigrants tend to locate in cities and in minority-dominated areas. This settlement pattern can have two consequences. First, it can lead members of the majority to identify the new arrivals with native-born minorities, reinforcing the stereotypes and disadvantages associated with race and class. Second, it places the children of immigrants in contact with young people of native-born minorities, many of whom have responded to their own difficult situations by developing an adversarial youth culture. Instead of assimilating into the middle class, then, the children of immigrants may assimilate into some of the most underprivileged classes in American society. In other words, they may assimilate into the wrong segment, assuming the perspective of mainstream American society as well as the immigrant community.

Moreover, Portes and Zhou maintain that changes in the American economy have exacerbated the situation of contemporary immigrants by eliminating some of the traditional means of immigrant upward mobility. In the industrial American economy of earlier years, parents could find jobs as laborers or factory workers and these would provide a basis for their children to become skilled craftspeople or white collar workers. Since the 1970s, however, labor-intensive jobs have been becoming less widely available. The good jobs now opening up are for "knowledge workers" (Drucker, 1993; Reich, 1992). Immigrant parents can still encourage upward mobility for their children, but this involves focusing heavily on education in order to bypass assimilation into the local society of the native-born and jump directly into professional positions. Herbert Gans (1992) essentially foresaw the prospects of segmented assimilation, and argued that the children of today's immigrants can either find desirable places in American society by concentrating on the opportunities afforded them through public education or they can experience what he called "second generation decline."

Growing Up American (1998) applies the idea of segmented assimilation specifically to the Vietnamese. Zhou and Bankston argue that Vietnamese families and Vietnamese communities achieve upward mobility for their children by encouraging them to avoid assimilation into the marginalized environments that surround them and to concentrate on school. This encouragement is not always successful. Both the external pressures on the families and communities, such as poverty and an adversarial youth culture, and their internal stresses, such as intergenerational conflicts and strained family and community relations, may result in alienation and failure for many young people. We therefore describe Vietnamese youth as having a tendency to bifurcate, either to achieve at disproportionally high levels or to drop out into delinquency and committed opposition.

The sections that follow look at how Vietnamese Americans have responded to life after resettlement in their new homeland, with its implications of segmented assimilation. First, we examine how the Vietnamese have rebuilt their family lives and their ethnic communities. We discuss their patterns of social relations, paying special attention to how social processes in Vietnamese families and communities can create social capital to help overcome disadvantages associated with parents' low socioeconomic status and ghettoized conditions in inner-city neighborhoods. We then discuss how the acculturation of Vietnamese youth is related to key aspects of school adaptation

SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION: THE REBUILDING OF THE FAMILY AND THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY

As discussed above, Vietnamese refugees and their children are still facing tremendous structural barriers to getting ahead in American society despite remarkable progress. Given low parental socioeconomic status, the structural constraints of poor neighborhoods and urban schools, and a vulnerability to adversarial youth subcultures, Vietnamese children cannot simply depend on the limited class resources of their families if they are to succeed academically and professionally. Why many Vietnamese children do relatively well is explained by their easy access to ethnic resources that can help them overcome adjustment difficulties. Their families and ethnic community constitute the most important social resources. Although Vietnamese families suffer from the strains of resettlement and intergenerational conflict, they are still closely knit and highly cooperative. Isolated families, though, would be insufficient to promote the well-being of children in the troubling social circumstances that surround so many Vietnamese Americans. As children reach late childhood and adolescence, the direct influence on them of their family declines and the influence of peer groups increases. Having settled in low-income communities, the Vietnamese are particularly vulnerable to peer influences on children by disheartened and alienated young people, both Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese. Avoiding this danger requires the efforts of the whole ethnic community, not of only the family. They must work hand-in-hand to channel members of the younger generation into productive activities in the schools. The forms of family brought from Southeast Asia can serve as a basis for rebuilding the ethnic community and social relations with the community. But family patterns must be adapted to American circumstances, and they must be supported by connections to the social groups that surround the families.

THE TRADITIONAL VIETNAMESE FAMILY AND THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT

It would be a mistake to portray the traditional Vietnamese family as an unchanging pattern from an ancient land suddenly dropped down in modern-day America. War and social change have been continually reshaping family life in Vietnam, even before the arrival of Southeast Asians in the United States and, as noted above, changes in family life have continued through the processes of displacement and resettlement. Still, ideas about proper familial relations have been passed on from generation to generation, and these ideas have affected behavior. Vietnamese American families do not help their children adjust to life in American neighborhoods and schools simply by passing on traditional forms of family life, but by modifying family relations to meet the demands of the new society.

In accordance with a Confucian heritage, the Vietnamese have generally regarded the family as having primacy over the individual. People do frequently depart from their own ideals, and Vietnamese people, in Vietnam or in America, have acted as selfishly as any other human beings. However, ideals are relevant to thought and behavior, as demonstrated by a study of Vietnamese American youth that found that they tended to display other-oriented values, rather than the egoistic values displayed by other American young people (Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

Within the family, hierarchy and patriarchy have been influential ideals, although these ideals have historically shown considerable flexibility in application. The chain of command in Vietnamese families puts the father or grandfather at the head. Age ranking is an important part of the family hierarchy, with older siblings having authority over younger siblings. As Charles Muzny (1989) pointed out in his study of the Vietnamese in Oklahoma City, the family hierarchy includes non-living as well as living members. The system of patrilineal descent from common ancestors provided one of the basic social concepts in traditional Vietnamese life.

Expressed through ancestor worship, patrilineal descent created ties outside of nuclear families while it reinforced the ideas of patriarchy and hierarchy.

In theory, women are expected to be completely subordinate to their husbands in the traditional Vietnamese family system, and physical beauty and obedience are highly praised qualities for women. The common practice of women going to live in the households of their husbands, with their husbands' parents, supports this subordination of women and contributes to intergenerational hierarchy. In reality, the subordination of women in the family is counteracted to some extent by women's economic activities. Most people in Vietnamese villages work in agriculture, and women contribute greatly to rice cultivation, in addition to doing all of the housework and childcare (Kibria, 1993). This means that women bear heavy workloads, but responsibility does entail some power. Women in Vietnamese families are known as noi-tuong, or "home minister," a phrase that implies some degree of female control within the sphere of the household.

The proverb "one fire, one lamp" expresses the traditional Vietnamese belief that the entire extended family should function as an economic unit, an idea that places added emphasis on ideals of cooperation within family units (Hanh, 1979). In this view, older people stay at home to take care of children while those in the middle generation work outside. The extended family thus serves as the center for all social activities, linking individual members to the community and to the larger society. The central values within the traditional Vietnamese family are harmony, filial piety, mutual obligation, hard work, obedience, and discipline.

Variations of the traditional Vietnamese family continue to play a major part in the lives of Vietnamese American young people. Change, of course, has resulted from exile and resettlement. Some of these changes have been for the worse and in a number of instances uprooted families have not been able to meet the needs of their children in their new environment. Many Vietnamese see traditional family life as threatened by life in America. The authority of parents *is questioned by children exposed to contemporary mainstream* American attitudes toward personal freedom and self-expression. The patriarchal character of traditional Vietnamese male-female relations appears as unjust to many young Vietnamese as it does to other Americans, raising questions about the virtues of the Confucian family system.

Changes in family life have led observers to conclude that the Vietnamese family is disintegrating (Long, 1996) or maintaining the tenuous existence of a tightrope walker (Kibria, 1993). There are families that have disintegrated through the shock of war, dislocation, and transplantation. Other families are indeed suffering from serious strains. We suggest that instances of disintegration have the extreme consequences of alienation and delinquency identified by Du Phuoc Long precisely because some version of family based on traditional concepts has become more intensely important for Vietnamese. Paradoxically, it is the very importance of family life that makes it subject to internal strains, contradictions, and conflicts.

In a study of familism among immigrant adolescents, Cooper, Baker, Polichar, and Welsh observed that "kinship patterns [of the Vietnamese] appear stable among recent immigrants, and those who have been able to retain kinship are considered to be making better adjustments than those without such ties" (1993, p. 75). Furthermore, although Kibria (1993) sees family connections as tenuous in the United States, she also convincingly argues that in the process of migration and resettlement the Vietnamese have maintained and drawn upon wider networks of extended kin relations than they actually used in Vietnam. This is an interesting observation because it suggests that family patterns are not simply brought over from Vietnam, but that Vietnamese American families are in some respects more "traditional" than families were in the previous homeland.

Social norms, regarding the family or other institutions, are ideals for behavior that may be selectively applied to day-to-day life. In Vietnam, the extended, multigenerational family is considered an ideal, but distant members of the patrilineal clan may have little to do with one another. For those who fled to America, the concept of extended relations has become a more useful aspect of traditional Vietnamese ideas about family life and it has received greater realization. Similarly, the norm of active cooperation among family members is receiving a new application in America, where it is necessary for women to work outside the home to contribute to family income, while the norm of subordination of women is necessarily downplayed.

The position of the Vietnamese in American society, discussed in the previous section, makes innovations in traditional familism critical to their well-being. Families are often surrounded by the least advantaged segments of American society. The adults of the first generation have little educational preparation for, and few network connections to, the corporate world. Their chief resource is the capacity to form and maintain cooperative relations with one another. If an upper-middle-class American family fails to provide a child with proper direction and support, this will be unfortunate, but it will not necessarily be disastrous. That child will still attend school with other middle-class children, will still grow up expecting to attend a university, and will still have a good chance of having a comfortable, prestigious career. When a Vietnamese family fails to give support and direction, though, the result can be an alienated and even violent individual. This is why Vietnamese juvenile delinquency can give the appearance of widespread family disintegration, even though the majority of Vietnamese children still live in two-parent households.

Vietnamese familism in the United States is innovative because it is linked to new goals, as well as influenced by a new environment. The Vietnamese need to survive, but they also need to prove themselves. They still feel the psychological impetus from the struggle to flee from Vietnam and reach the new country. They are newcomers who want to justify themselves to members of older American groups, who are frequently suspicious and occasionally hostile. They feel the need to establish themselves in the new country and to achieve some measure of regard and prestige. Traditional Vietnamese ideals regarding cooperation in families and respect for authority have therefore been reoriented toward achieving upward mobility in American society. Kibria describes the importance of achievement for Vietnamese families in America when she discusses the feelings of children who were not doing well in school: "[T]he general sense of failure that stemmed from their inability to do well at school was overwhelming; they felt they had let their families down" (1993, p. 156).

Vietnamese American families, then, are to be seen neither as unchanging Confucian entities transferred to America nor as the fragmentary remnants of a shattered civilization. Instead, they are dynamic reconstructions from the material of traditional family ideals. Adjusting to life in the United States has involved incorporating traditional values, communal solidarities, and refugee experiences into a lifestyle adapted to American ways (Caplan et al., 1989; Gold, 1992; Rutledge, 1992). Family boundaries have frequently been redefined by new family circles that bring friends and distant relatives who had been marginal members of the family into the active circle of kin relations in the United States. This reconstructed family pattern, based on kinship or fictive kinship, yields extended families that build on ideals of family social relations drawn from tradition, but also subtly incorporate new elements.

The dynamism of these reconstructed families is one of the sources of tension within them. Adapting culturally transmitted ideals to new circumstances involves some degree of conflict. For example, changes in family relations have created conditions of greater equality between men and women and between the young and the old. This increasing egalitarianism may be seen as consistent with traditional ideals of family collectivism, but it is also at odds with the ideals of hierarchy and paternal control. Parents and husbands may resent the perceived loss of control. Egalitarianism, moreover, can upset the careful balance of innovative traditionalism. Wives may become frustrated with old-fashioned husbands. Husbands can be estranged from assertive wives. Children placed in the position of interpreting for non-English speaking parents may lose necessary parental direction.

These tensions inside of families, as well as the troubled environment around many Vietnamese families, lead to consideration of what enables Vietnamese Americans to maintain their balance of innovative traditionalism. What keeps families together? What provides children with the direction they need to bypass the problems of low-income neighborhoods? The answers lie in Vietnamese communities. Families are surrounded by broader webs of social relations. As children reach adolescence and become increasingly open to influences outside their families, communities take on a greater relevance. A strong set of interlocking relationships within a community can support parents and direct children toward productive outcomes and away from the dangers of our stratified, segmented society (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Families and communities work together for the direction of children in two ways. First, they maintain an ethic, a system of morality regarding the proper relations among people. Second, social integration into family and community serves as a means of control and a source of support for children.

FAMILY VALUES AND MORALITY IN SOCIAL RELATIONS

People interact with each other on the basis of values, shared beliefs about what is good or desirable, and norms, shared beliefs about how members of a group or human beings in general should behave. Research on Vietnamese youth has indicated that many of their norms and values tend to be derived from concepts stemming from Vietnamese traditional family life. In 1993, we conducted a survey of Vietnamese students attending a public high school in a highly concentrated Vietnamese enclave. We asked the students to consider whether obedience, working hard, helping others, thinking for oneself, and/or popularity were the most important values of their families. An overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese youth who participated in the survey strongly agreed that obedience, working hard, and helping others were the most important values. In contrast, fewer than half the respondents identified independent thinking and popularity as traits that were encouraged in their families, although over 30 percent of respondents said that these traits were not important to their families even though they are generally considered desirable for American youth. In fact, the students and other members of the Vietnamese community consistently characterized independence of thinking and concern with individual social prestige as American or "Americanized" family values (Zhou & Bankston, 1994; 1998).

When we examined the work habits of Vietnamese children, indicated by reported time spent on homework and housework, we found that those who rated their families higher on an orientation toward family values recognized as traditionally Vietnamese put more time into homework and housework than did children whose families displayed orientations recognized as "Americanized." Children who reported that their families paid more attention to social prestige and independence of thought, on the other hand, tended to spend more time watching television. Although we did not have data on daily hours spent on homework and television by non-Vietnamese students in that school, the teachers interviewed consistently reported that Vietnamese students generally worked harder and spent more time on homework than their American counterparts. Results from the San Diego Survey of 1992 on immigrant children showed that Vietnamese students spent an average of two hours daily on homework, compared to 1.16 hours for Mexicans, 1.56 for other Latinos, and 1.97 for other Asians (Rumbaut, 1995b).

These results suggest, first, that there is a distinctively

Vietnamese American pattern of family values which the Vietnamese themselves associate with their own cultural traditions. Second, these traditional values are connected to productive forms of behavior on the part of children. These results are, moreover, entirely consistent with findings on Vietnamese American family life of Nathan Caplan and his associates. In *The Boat People and Achievement in America,* Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy (1989) argued that the Vietnamese were reaching high levels of achievement in American society because of the cultural values brought from Vietnam, and conducted a survey to identify these cultural values. Survey findings, presented from the most to least important, are shown on Table 5.

Table 5: A Rank Ordering of Values of Vietnamese American Parents and Children

Rank	Parents	Children
1	Education and Achievement	Respect for Family Members
2	Cooperative and Harmonious Family	Education and Achievement
3	Hard Work	Freedom
4	Respect for Family Members	Family Loyalty
5	Carry Out Obligations	Hard Work
6	Freedom	Cooperative and Harmonious Family
7	Family Loyalty	Morality and Ethics
8	Restraint and Discipline	A Secure and Comfortable Life
9	Morality and Ethics	Sacrifice the Present for the Future
10	Sacrifice the Present for the Future	Carry Out Obligations
Bottom Two Values		
	Desire for Material Possessions	Desire for Fun and Excitement
	Desire for Fun and Excitement	Desire for Material Possessions

Source: Caplan, Whitmore, & Choy (1989, p. 97).

Parents named "education and achievement" as the foremost value they hold for their children, seeing their relations with the children primarily in terms of promoting upward mobility in the new country. Moreover, Vietnamese parents interviewed in California, Louisiana, and other areas of the country connected their achievement orientations to their sense of loss as refugees and to their need to prove themselves in the new land (Zhou, in press; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Having left their homes and ancestors behind them, they expressed a need to find a place of dignity and respect for them-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

selves through their children. "It may be too late for me," many of them said explicitly, "but my children will be successful in the eyes of other Vietnamese and in the eyes of Americans in general."

The children in Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy's study cited "respect for family members" as their chief value. This is an important point because respect for others (especially family members), rooted in the concept of familial hierarchy, leads children to subordinate their own immediate wishes to family goals and to accept the parental emphasis on achievement through education. Further, it is significant that "education and achievement" was the children's second highest value after respect, an order that symbolizes the logical connection between these two values. Achievement, in the Vietnamese American context, follows from respect for others because it is respect that drives children to strive for the goals set by their families and their communities.

Both the parents and the children studied by Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy tended to place individualistic motivations for goal-directed activities at the bottom of the rank ordering of priorities. "Desire for material possessions" and "seeking fun and excitement" were the least valued motivations. This does not mean, of course, that Vietnamese parents and children do not act for the sake of material accumulation or that they do not try to gain personal joy. It does mean that these are the kinds of motivations that they are least likely to admire in themselves and in others.

A closer look at the idea of "respect" reveals that it lies at the center of the innovative traditionalism of Vietnamese American social morality. "Respect" is a theme that has emerged in almost every discussion we have held with Vietnamese Americans about contemporary Vietnamese youth. We found that the word "respect" was used in the following contexts: (a) respect for elders, (b) respect for authority, and (c) respect for peers and self. When Vietnamese children meet elders, they are expected to acknowledge the elders' higher position through both language and demeanor. When the children do not show respect for elders, they are seen as not participating in an ethnic system of social relations, as acting (as the Vietnamese put it) "American" or like "Americanized" kids instead of like Vietnamese kids (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Respect for authority is closely related to respect for elders, since age and being a parent are both sources of authority. However, it is not simply age that establishes authority, but the social persona of the individual within the web of social relations. Jesse Nash found that respect for persons in positions of authority was a defining characteristic of the Vietnamese social order: "Vietnamese children, when asked to draw pictures of people they admire, drew their parents, priests, policemen, and community leaders. A similar, American group of children initially refused my request, saying it was 'silly.' When they finally did respond to the request, they drew rock stars and rich socialites" (1992, p. 43). Thus, respect is more than just a "value." It is a concrete expression of the forms of behavior between individuals holding different places. Addressing someone in a position of authority in a particular way is not just a "value," in the sense of a collectively held idea about desirable and undesirable behavior; rather, it is an action that marks one's position in a set of social relations. It is not immediately relevant which aspects of these social relations have been transplanted without change from Vietnam to America and which aspects have developed in the process of resettlement. As an immigrant minority, the Vietnamese see authority relationships as defining what it means to be "Vietnamese," and therefore those who take part in these relationships enter into the ethnic group as a whole and are controlled by the group and draw on the group's resources.

Since respect is a social concept, an expression of acceptance of positions, it also involves self-respect. Respect for others, i.e., recognition of others within an established set of social positions, is closely connected to respect for self, the acceptance of one's own place within this set of social positions. Children who do not demonstrate respect for elders and authority are seen as also lacking respect for themselves.

It is fairly easy to see how respectfulness and dedication to hard work and obligation can lead to success in school. Many teachers have exclaimed that they enjoy teaching Vietnamese children because "they're so polite and respectful!" Teachers react well to those who treat them with courtesy, and children who put effort into their schoolwork tend to do well. It is important to refrain from excessively idealizing contemporary Vietnamese American cultural patterns, though. The same morality in social relations that leads to positive outcomes also frequently creates problems.

Although Vietnamese American children do indeed have disproportionally high rates of academic achievement (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1992; Rumbaut, 1995b), they also exhibit a number of problems. As pointed out above, they appear to suffer from high levels of psychological stress. Moreover, dropout rates among the Vietnamese are increasing (Chuong, 1994) and juvenile delinquency is high (Bankston & Zhou, 1997; Long, 1996).

The Vietnamese American concept of morality in social relations provides part of the explanation for the apparently contradictory trends among these young immigrants and children of immigrant parents. The key values of Vietnamese Americans are based on a system of social relations reconstructed in America from Vietnamese traditions. These values demand high levels of conformity and integration into a tightly-knit set of ties among coethnics. Children who accept the ideas of respect and achievement prevalent in their families and communities will tend to behave in ways that lead to productive outcomes. At the same time, though, the contradictory claims of other sets of values, such as the American respect for individualism, can lead to psychological tensions and family conflicts, even when leading to success stories.

Since Vietnamese American communities do tend to have such tightly-knit social ties, the children who do not participate fully in ethnic social relations tend to be utterly outside of them. Accepting the morality in social relations means being a part of those relations, being integrated into them. Thus it is likely that many of the most negative aspects of contemporary Vietnamese American youth, such as the delinquency and the gang activities, are consequences of the fact that the reconstruction of Vietnamese families and communities in America has left many young people on the outside. If they are outsiders to their families and communities, though, does this mean that they live in isolation? How do family, community, and the larger society relate to each other and to the lives of children? To attempt to answer these questions, we have developed a model of multiple social integration.

THE SYSTEM OF MULTIPLE SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The morality of social relations described above does not exist in a mental space unconnected to the physical world. Any morality inheres in social relations among people. While the values and norms that guide the lives of people are passed from generation to generation, they are also communicated among those who live in specific places at specific times under specific conditions. Through their repeated approval and disapproval, their explicit rewards and punishments, and the examples they set for one another, members of a group continually reinforce values and norms and thereby direct behavior.

One of the reasons why human social life is complex is that all of us are simultaneously members of many different groups. Families, friendship groups, workplaces, and neighborhoods all have their own moralities and their own sets of guiding rules. These moralities and rules may overlap, but they frequently differ, and sometimes differ greatly.

As shown, the families of contemporary Vietnamese young people have developed what we term an innovative traditionalism to draw selectively on a cultural heritage in dealing with the challenges of a new country. However, in some respects the morality in social relations embodied by this innovative traditionalism is at odds with many of the norms and values of American society.

Individual autonomy is difficult to reconcile with hierarchy and obedience. Delayed satisfaction tends to be undermined by consumerism. Reverence for traditions and elders coexists uneasily with American youth culture.

Cultural conflicts like these can be found in most immigrant families, but they are especially acute for families in the most underprivileged segments of American society. In their neighborhoods, many Vietnamese are surrounded not just by American youth culture, but by the youth culture of the disadvantaged. Ethnographer Elijah Anderson has offered portraits of this youth culture in *Streetwise* (1990) and *The Code of the Streets* (1999). Many Vietnamese American young people have adopted "the code of the streets," becoming integrated into social groups modeled on those of other economically disadvantaged youth. Others, however, seem to be bypassing membership in adversarial youth groups.

If Vietnamese families had settled as isolated clusters in poor American neighborhoods, few of their children would have avoided the dangers of life at the bottom of postindustrial America. The reason why many seem to be escaping the second generation decline described by Gans (1992) is that the families are not isolated clusters. They are woven into the wider web of social relations of Vietnamese communities.

Following Emile Durkheim ([1897] 1951), social integration theorists maintain that conformity with accepted forms of behavior occurs when individuals are tightly regulated by the social group. Young people may be integrated into at least four types of social groups, making them subject to at least four forms of behavioral regulation. First, they may be integrated into their families. Second, they may be integrated into the ethnic, religious, or geographical communities that contain their families. Third, they may be integrated into the peer groups of the local environment. Finally, they may be integrated into the mainstream society in general.

In the ideal situation, all these levels of social groups are consistent with one another and reinforce one another to produce children who are prepared to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the larger American society. For example, parents encourage their children to perform well in school, neighborhoods and churches or temples provide direction and support to both parents and children, and peer groups echo the messages of family and community. Given this ideal situation, children will eventually become productive citizens and workers.

However, this ideal situation is essentially nonexistent. American society does not offer opportunities in abundance to all of its members. The increased economic inequality in America over the past two to three decades has resulted in fewer positions for the children of the disadvantaged, who frequently do not have the privileges, care, and dedication to attain the more abundant higher level positions. In preparing children to occupy the shrinking number of opportunities, American families are often hampered by the problems of the parents themselves. Children from single-parent families, a family structure that has become much more common in recent years, are not only more likely to achieve lower levels of education and to drop out of school than children from two-parent families, but are also more likely to have psychological problems, to become addicted to drugs and alcohol, and to engage in aggressive and disruptive behavior (Dornbusch et al., 1985; Featherstone, Cundick, & Jensen, 1992; Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1986; McLanahan & Booth, 1989; Pearson, Ialongo, & Hunter, 1994; Vaden-Kiernan, Ialongo, & Kellam, 1995).

Moreover, family structure often interacts with class status as well as with the structure of the community. For instance, when individual families face problems, surrounding communities may provide needed support. Along these lines, Coleman & Hoffer (1987) found that the church communities surrounding parochial schools could promote the educational progress of children from varied socioeconomic backgrounds and family structures. If young people are from resourceful families or are connected to communities such as religious or ethnic groups, through their families, they are likely to fare well even if they live in single-parent homes (Rutledge, 1985; Zhou 1997a). Conversely, if they are estranged from their families, they may also be estranged from the communities that contain their families and thus become socially isolated even if they live in intact families. Very few people are social isolates, alienated from all group membership. Young people who are not well-integrated into their families or their communities may still be integrated into their peer groups. This last possibility, however, may be undesirable. Peer groups are often based on distinctive youth cultures that may have far less productive social relations than those observed as predominant among the Vietnamese.

Research has consistently shown that the outcomes of young Vietnamese Americans can be understood in terms of this framework of multiple social integration (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Located primarily in low-income neighborhoods, Vietnamese families tend to promote the achievement of their children by directing them into involvement in their ethnic group and away from integration into peer groups of disaffected Vietnamese youth who participate in the oppositional youth culture of other economically disadvantaged young Americans. In our view, problematic family relations that may result in young people's delinquent or deviant behavior may be placed into three categories, with reference to integration at each systemic level. The first category is the "absent or partially absent family system," in which the family relations that make possible adaptation to larger systems are not present. The second is the "community-marginal family system," in which the links between individual families and their ethnic community are inadequate to provide constraints and supports to individual families. The third category is the "society-marginal family system," in which the linkage between the family and the dominant society is inadequate.

The absent or partially absent family system affects many Vietnamese children as a consequence of resettlement. A typical situation of the absent or partially absent family system occurs when one parent or both has been left behind in Vietnam. Movement from Vietnam to the United States may also have separated parents and children for years before reunification, and this long separation can make reconstruction of family relations difficult (see Forsyth & Bankston, 1997, for a case study of this situation). Without adequate direction from parents and other family members, children may become integrated into gangs or other troubled youth groups.

The ethnic community can provide help to families regardless of the relations within those families. Some families, however, are less deeply involved socially with coethnics than others. If we see Vietnamese ethnic communities as little pockets of distinctive social relations surrounded by the most disadvantaged segments of American society, then families that do not have close relations with other Vietnamese may not be able to steer their children toward integration into the ethnic community and away from integration into the neighborhoods that surround them. Parents who have reasonably good jobs that provide economic capital may sometimes still be alienated from the society of their coethnics and therefore lack the social capital that can be provided through the support and direction of the ethnic community.

The Vietnamese suffer the additional handicap of being outsiders to the larger American society and their schools. Communication between non-English speaking parents and almost exclusively English speaking schools can undermine the ability of parents to keep abreast of their children's educational progress and maintain control over their attendance and behavior at school. Children who translate for their parents are frequently in a position of power that can not only disrupt the traditional parent-child relationship but can also seriously interfere with parental efforts at guidance. Since so many Vietnamese families are "society-marginal," they need the help of their communities in steering children away from problematic local environments and toward integration into the larger society. Translators, Vietnamese parent organizations, and school counselors with close connections to Vietnamese communities are valuable for connecting Vietnamese families to the mainstream institutions of American society.

In sum, whether the family and the ethnic community can successfully steer young people away from the marginal segments of American society depends on the fit between the goals and means prescribed by the familial systems and ethnic social systems and those prescribed by mainstream American society. In the case of the Vietnamese, the familial and ethnic social systems provide that consistency. That is, when an ethnic community is oriented toward integration into the larger society but is located in a marginal local environment, the ethnic social system can have a very important role in helping its young members bypass the marginal local social environment and facilitating their integration into the larger society.

ACCULTURATION AND ITS VARIANTS: KEY ASPECTS OF SCHOOL ADAPTATION

For adult immigrants, finding employment and housing is central to adaptation to a new land. For immigrant children and immigrant offspring, success in school is the yardstick of their adjustment. School is where young people in modern societies prepare for the future. It is the place where they spend much of their lives from age 5 to 18 or 21 or well into adulthood. Moreover, the demands of the information age have intensified the importance of schooling and narrowed the opportunities of those with little formal education. In considering the acculturation of Vietnamese children to American society, then, adaptation to the school environment is a fundamental concern.

How have flight, resettlement, and the reconstruction of Vietnamese families and communities in contemporary America affected the acculturation of Vietnamese American students? To answer this question in a fashion that will be useful to those who work with these children, we look at a number of the key aspects of immigrant adaptation to schools, considering in particular how language use, bicultural conflicts between home and school, gender roles, and ethnic involvement influence the lives of Vietnamese children in American schools.

LANGUAGE

It is almost universally agreed that proficiency in English is essential to the adaptation of immigrant children to American schools. Disagreements concerning the nature of language programs are largely over questions of whether bilingual education or English immersion will lead to better adjustment to the English-dominant academic system and whether promoting languages other than English will complement or compete with education in English. These questions are closely linked because the critics of bilingual education often argue that such programs retard the acquisition of English by encouraging reliance on other tongues (see, for example, Chavez, 1991; Sowell, 1991). Supporting this point of view, a U.S. Department of Education overview of studies of bilingual education conducted by Keith Baker and Adriana de Kantner (1981) evaluated the evidence on the advantages of bilingual education and concluded that bilingually educated students score below average in both English skills and general academic achievement. Other studies have found that the use of Spanish, the second major language in the United States, can be associated with lowered levels of educational attainment and academic achievement (Lopez, 1976; Fernández & Nielsen, 1986). Recently, however, a growing body of empirical evidence indicates that both cognitive ability and scholastic achievement are actually positively associated with fluent bilingualism (Bankston & Zhou, 1995b; Fernández & Nielsen, 1986; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Rumbaut, 1995b; Saito, 1999; Tienda, 1984).

The debate over the language issue has largely ignored the fact that language acquisition and language use are constrained by contextual factors as well as acculturation factors (Zhou, 1997b). David Lopez (1996) found that English monolingualism at home increased from one generation to the next, that the shift was more rapid in the third generation than in the second, and that such a shift was more rapid among Asian Americans than among Latino Americans across generations. He pointed out that the better maintenance of ancestral native language among Latino Americans, especially in the Southwest, was attributed to their proximity to Mexico, residential isolation from the dominant social group, and ethnic concentration in the sense of sheer numbers.

Similarly, Zhao's study (in press) of Vietnamese children in San Diego found that they were more than ten times as likely as their parents to speak, understand, read, and write English very well, and that in the process of learning English, they lost their parental native tongue rapidly. She nevertheless argued that maintaining bilingual proficiency has significant social implications for parent-child relations in immigrant families, with the substantial language gap between parents and children posing a potential risk. Parents who are unable to speak English well can become dependent on their children for daily contact with the outside world, hence putting the children who act as interpreters and translators on behalf of their parents in an authoritative position. Such role reversal usually leads to a weakening of parental authority. The children, in contrast, may develop a sense of frustration over family duties and resent their parents' broken or accented English. Another potential risk is that such a language gap may cause the children to sever ties with the ethnic institutions that give meaning and direction to the lives of the parent generation (Habenstein, 1998).

In the case of Vietnamese refugee children, lack of facility in English is one of the greatest handicaps. According to Rumbaut (1995b), the San Diego school district classified over 40 percent of its Vietnamese students as Limited English Proficient (LEP) in 1992. In that same year, only 16 percent of the children of other Asian immigrants were so classified. In a study of Vietnamese students in Orange County's Little Saigon, Saito noted that "the targeted FEP [Fluent English Proficient] population encompassed approximately 54 percent of the total twelfth grade Vietnamese students at the six high schools included in the study" (1999, p. 3). In a study of high school students in a Vietnamese community in New Orleans, the students were concentrated in two schools. Close to 70 percent of the Vietnamese pupils in the school located inside the Vietnamese neighborhood were classified as LEP, whereas nearly 30 percent of those at the nearby school outside of the neighborhood were so classified (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Even when students are formally classified as fluent in English, they may miss many of the nuances of speakers who come from English-speaking backgrounds. Linguistic isolation lessens the familiarity of young people with the most common language in the United States. In 1990, a quarter of all immigrants in the United

States lived in linguistically isolated neighborhoods, but over half (53 percent) of the Vietnamese lived in such neighborhoods. Moreover, many Vietnamese children attend schools where many or most of their peers speak languages other than English or speak nonstandard English. Public schools in Little Saigon, for example, serve Latinos and other language-minority children in addition to the Vietnamese.

Despite the continuing problems of Vietnamese students with the English language, the bulk of the evidence from research indicates that language ability in Vietnamese does not compete with language ability in English, and that skills in Vietnamese can even contribute to academic success (Bankston & Zhou, 1995). Concerns that the home language will keep students from acquiring English do not appear to be justified. A rapid shift toward English is occurring among Vietnamese American students, despite the linguistic isolation of many of their families and communities. Table 6 shows that among Vietnamese age 5 to 17, the overwhelming majority (85 percent) of first generation immigrant children were limited bilinguals, defined as speaking a language other than English at home and speaking a little English but not very well. In contrast, just over a third of the second generation children were limited bilingual. Second generation children were also more likely to be fluent bilinguals or English monolinguals. It would appear that the problems with English proficiency we have noted are largely a consequence of the recent arrival of the Vietnamese in North America. If the trends seen on Table 6 continue, Vietnamese language fluency may become rare among third and later generations of this group. In fact, the acquisition of English is less imperiled among Vietnamese children than the maintenance of the Vietnamese language.

The trend toward English language dominance is also reflected in the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS, 1992, 1995). Among the Vietnamese children of San Diego who participated in this survey, the proportion who could speak only English grew from 6.9 percent to 7.4 percent during the short time

Table 6: Language Abilities of Vietnamese Children in the United States, 1990

Generation	Limited Bilingual %	Fluent Bilingual %	English Monolingual %
First Generation	84.7	14.1	1.2
1.5 Generation	54.0	43.0	3.0
Second Generation	37.0	50.4	12.6

* Includes those who report speaking a language other than English at home, but speak a little Enlish though "less than very well."

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990.

from 1992 to 1995. In this same period, students who reported that they preferred to speak English increased from 51.8 percent to 53.9 percent.

The shift toward English raises the question of why the maintenance of the Vietnamese language should matter. An ideological commitment to cultural preservation may lead one to advocate the cultivation of minority languages, regardless of their practical benefits. Our reading of the evidence, though, suggests that there may be practical benefits to the preservation of Vietnamese.

Research findings generally indicate not only that Vietnamese pupils show disproportionally high levels of scholastic performance, but also that those with Vietnamese language skills tend to do better than those who lack such skills. Saito (1999) found that fluency in Vietnamese is a predictor of academic success and that abilities in reading and writing Vietnamese were significantly and positively related to plans for postsecondary education. This is consistent with our findings of a positive association between literacy in Vietnamese and academic achievement (Bankston & Zhou, 1995b).

Why does Vietnamese language proficiency promote adaptation to American schools? One possible answer is that fostering skills in a first language leads to cognitive development that can be transferred to other areas of endeavor (Cummins, 1981; Willig, 1985). Along these lines, K.J. Lindholm and Z. Aclan (1991) found

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

that academic achievement was related to the level of bilingual proficiency, rather than to the fact of bilingualism itself, suggesting that progress in the minority language promotes overall capacity. It is not enough simply to speak a second language; a student must be trained in some standard version of it and work at higher order language skills, such as reading and writing.

Purely psychological explanations of the connection between scholastic performance and minority language skills have only limited strength. Why should literacy and the study of a standard form of a language enhance school adaptation more than knowledge of a nonstandard idiom? From a linguist's perspective, standard and nonstandard versions are equally valid means of communication. However, a sociological perspective reminds us that they are means of communication with different social groups. For example,Vietnamese delinquents and dropouts speak Vietnamese. However, they speak a slang-laced Vietnamese, heavily intermingled with English words and phrases. While there is nothing intrinsically inferior about this demotic, it enables its users to communicate with others in the Vietnamese American variant of American youth culture and not with their parents or other elders (Zhou & Bankston, 1998) .

The sociological dimensions of language use become clear when considered in terms of the framework described in the previous sections. Vietnamese language skills promote academic achievement because they connect children to social resources available in the family and community in three ways. First, in learning to speak, read, and write the language of their elders, children are socialized into accepting the goals and ambitions of their elders. As shown, achieving places of respect in the new country through intergenerational mobility is a fundamental goal of these displaced people. Second, language use gives children a sense of continuity with the cultural traditions that are felt to be basic to Vietnamese American identity. Although the Vietnamese have drawn selectively upon their traditions in reconstructing social institutions in the new country, they still see tradition as the basis of their ties to one another. As C. Wharry (1993) found, maintaining the Vietnamese language is seen by Vietnamese students as a way of maintaining a distinctive culture. Third, learning the parental language involves children in organizations and activities that promote scholastic endeavors.

Saito (1999) has observed that Vietnamese language classes are among the activities provided by ethnic organizations in Little Saigon and that attending a Vietnamese language school was the second most common community activity, after church or temple attendance, for Vietnamese students. Similarly, we found that Vietnamese language classes were among the most common ways for Vietnamese community organizations to pass on to children a sense of ethnic group membership. Further, the same organizations that provided Vietnamese language classes to students outside of public schools also provided awards and recognition to students who did exceptionally well in public schools (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

BICULTURAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN HOME AND SCHOOL

Cultural conflicts between immigrant parents and children born or reared in the United States are common occurrences. Young people want to fit in with those around them and to be accepted; they continually compare themselves with their American peers rather than with foreign born peers. From their American peers and from television and other forms of mass media, immigrant children often learn that the important things in life are immediate personal prestige, instant gratification, and conspicuous consumption. Immigrant parents, on the other hand, tend to focus on survival and economic mobility. As shown, mobility has a special importance for Vietnamese parents trying to recover a sense of self-worth after the shattering experience of flight and exile. Immigrant parents also retain a dual frame of reference, in which the norms of the home society, and not those of the host society, provide the standards for assessing their accomplishments (Ogbu, 1974). These different ways of looking at the world and at their own lives can easily result in conflict between immigrant children and their parents. Children often see their parents as bound by tradition and old-fashioned, holding tightly to "old world" values, norms, and behavioral patterns. Parents see their children as overly attracted to the least constructive sides of American culture.

Differing life experiences of children growing up in the U.S. and their immigrant parents can turn the generation gap into a chasm. Intense bicultural conflicts may push children and parents into separate social worlds. However, it may be simplistic to assume that the parent generation is utterly unwilling to let go of the old-country tradition and ties and that the younger generation is completely committed to cutting these traditions and ties. For many of today's new immigrants, acculturation began before arrival in the United States, thanks to the influence of the American media in their homelands and, in the Vietnamese case, a direct American presence (Rumbaut, 1997; 1999). Hence, immigrant parents and children will inevitably share some experiences in acculturation while differing in many others.

The generation gap between the world of immigrant adolescents and that of their parents can be thought of in terms that Portes and Rumbaut (1996) describe as "generational dissonance and generational consonance." Generational consonance occurs when parents and children both remain unacculturated, acculturate at the same rate, or agree on selective acculturation. Generational dissonance occurs when children neither correspond to levels of parental acculturation nor conform to parental guidance, leading to role reversal and parent-child conflicts. Past studies of earlier European immigrant family life have shown intense generational dissonance in the family over host society and homeland interests (Brown, 1994; Child, 1943; Covello, 1972). However, other studies, conversely, have found that conflicts among generations within immigrant families do not necessarily frustrate successful adaptation to a host society. In fact, many immigrant families today consciously modify and adapt their own values, such as the value placed on education, to make them more congruent with the host society than with the homeland, laying the foundation for generational consonance (Schulz, 1983; Sung, 1987; Zhou, in press; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). The innovative traditionalism described above, along with the selective adaptation of cultural traditions to a new environment, can serve as a means of increasing generational consonance and narrowing the bicultural generation gap.

Whether or not generational conflicts lead to negative adaptational outcomes depends on the economic position of the family as well as on that of the community. The children of today's immigrants come from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Children from middle-class families may not like their family's ways of pushing them to meet parental expectations, but they enjoy a comfortable distance from negative cultural influences and are unlikely to reject the expectations of the community in which they live, which are usually very similar to those of their parents. Children from poor families do not have this safety net and often encounter a gap between familial goals and the goals that prevail in their neighborhood. The local social environment, moreover, is often on the margins of the larger society. In this situation, children's rejection of familial goals can cause a lack of mobility or downward mobility.

There are four major bicultural problems in achieving the generational consonance needed by Vietnamese families for the pursuit of upward mobility in American society. First, parents and children tend to disagree on the nature and extent of parental authority. Second, many of the means of enforcing parental authority that were common in Vietnam are unacceptable in the United States. Third, parents and children have different perspectives on what aspects of American culture are desirable. Fourth, the role reversal of parents and children that frequently occurs in immigrant families is contrary to the cultural expectations of Vietnamese parents about their own roles.

Almost all of the Vietnamese children interviewed in the course of many research projects have complained that their parents are too strict (Kibria,1993; Nash, 1992; Saito,1999). In Vietnam, even grown children are expected to obey their parents and parents are expected to control the lives of their children (Muzny, 1989). This area of conflict is complicated by the fact that many Vietnamese children in the United States may well require a significant amount of control; in order to steer a very narrow course in their troubled neighborhoods, careful supervision is helpful. The danger is that excessive parental efforts at control can lead to open rebellion in the American environment and parents can worsen the very problems they seek to avoid.

Physical punishment, sometimes severe, is often used in Vietnam to enforce parental authority. In the United States, this is not only resented by children, who may see themselves as abused, but discouraged or even forbidden by American institutions. Cases of Vietnamese parents who have been prosecuted for beating their children have received wide publicity in the Vietnamese American community. Kibria (1993) cites instances of police or school authorities becoming involved in the protection of children from excessive punishment by parents or other elders. In the Vietnamese community in Oklahoma City a number of teenagers ran away from strictly disciplined homes (Muzny, 1989) . Disagreements about the legitimacy of physical punishment create a rift between parents and children at the same time that mainstream American disapproval of severe physical punishments makes parents unsure of the proper way to correct their offspring.

Kibria quotes a common complaint of Vietnamese parents: "A lot of Vietnamese children behave like American children; they compare themselves to the American children. The question the children here usually ask their parents is, 'Why can those children do things and why can't I?'" (1993, p. 147). The children want to do things like going out late at night and spending their parents' money. In our own research, we have found that the children tend to define "being American" in terms of wearing fashionable clothes, enjoying personal freedom, and being "cool." Parents, however, refer to acceptance of these facets of American culture as "Americanization," a term that usually has negative implications. The parents tend to describe the positive side of "being American" as taking advantage of educational opportunities in the U.S. and becoming a professional (Zhou & Bankston, 1998); their intense orientation toward scholastic and occupational achievements for their children frequently becomes a source of open conflict.

The ability of parents to direct children toward their own desired goals is often undermined by the fact that children tend to learn English much faster and more thoroughly than their parents do, thus giving the children in many families power. Although Vietnamese parents generally believe in exercising authority over their children more than other American parents do, the former are sometimes able to exercise very little effective authority because their children are more familiar with American society. Parents who cannot talk to the teachers of their children have difficulty following their children's schoolwork and even have difficulty knowing if their children are actually attending school. Taking care of parents can sometimes lead to contempt by their children, as exemplified by a young Vietnamese man's comment: "I don't see why I should listen to her [his mother]. Like, she needs me a lot more than I need her. She can't even talk to anybody that calls on the phone. So I just do what I like. Who's going to tell me I can't?" (Zhou & Bankston, 1998, p. 170).

Clearly, the potential bicultural conflicts in Vietnamese families have serious implications for adaptation to American schools. Often living in neighborhoods on the margins of American society, Vietnamese children have a particular need for parental direction. At the same time, though, they and their parents have different perspectives on what is valuable in America. The children are under pressure from their peers to conform to American youth culture and under pressure from their parents to excel. Vietnamese communities can help families achieve cultural consonance by providing an environment outside the family that has cultural expectations similar to those inside it. Still, the school is a largely non-Vietnamese institution and some measure of generational dissonance is unavoidable for many Vietnamese families. Bridging the gap, then, must involve schools and other organizations that work with Vietnamese youth and their families.

GENDER ROLES

One of the greatest challenges for adapting Vietnamese traditions to the American environment is reconciling ideas about the proper roles of men and women with the demands and expectations of American society. Gerald Cannon Hickey's classic ethnographic study of Vietnamese village life at the end of the 1950s testifies to the second-class status of women in Vietnam (1964). Women were expected to marry early, bear children, and serve their husbands. Among non-Catholics, the practice of taking more than one wife was widely accepted. Although educational opportunities for women in Vietnam had begun to increase at the time of Hickey's study, the education and employment of women were strictly limited; the household was their sphere of influence.

The father was the acknowledged head of the family; the authority of the Vietnamese male head of household was "much more institutionalized, recognized and vigorously exercised" (Vuong, 1976, p. 24) than that of the prefeminist era father in the West. Vietnamese fathers were responsible for the economic support of families. Although women would contribute to the family's financial well-being, through helping in agriculture or small business, they were under the supervision and direction of the male head of household. Sons and daughters were brought up in accordance with these fairly strict gender roles.

Changes in gender roles following migration to the United States can be traced to two sources: necessity and opportunity. As Rutledge (1992) found in interviews with Vietnamese Americans around the United States, the economic situation of Vietnamese

American families no longer permits the man to function as sole provider for the household. At the same time, Vietnamese women have encountered "...opportunities to attend school, work outside the home, and establish an identity which includes some degree of independence from one's husband. . ." (Rutledge, 1992, p. 125). Education and employment have become common for Vietnamese American women. Over 42 percent of Vietnamese women in the U.S. age 18 through 24 were enrolled in college in 1990. The entry of Vietnamese women into the marketplace has led to a few success stories of female former refugees who have become wealthy entrepreneurs (Bowens, 1992). More typically, Vietnamese women have become necessary economic partners in struggling households.

Despite these changes, researchers generally agree that Vietnamese Americans have not abandoned traditional ideas about family and gender. James Freeman's collection of short Vietnamese American autobiographies shows a people profoundly attached to their family traditions and troubled by challenges to them (1989). Nash's (1992) interpretive participant observation in a Vietnamese community portrays the idealization of women as a core value of the community. The business activities of women are frequently strongly influenced by concepts of gender distinctions: beauty shops and nail parlors owned or run by women can be found in abundance in any Vietnamese community in the United States.

Parental treatment of sons and daughters continues to exhibit numerous features that both the Vietnamese and outsiders associate with traditional Vietnamese gender roles. Housework is still considered chiefly the responsibility of women, and daughters are explicitly taught to consider work around the house as their field of activity. Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy (1989) note that although both daughters and sons in Vietnamese American families are expected to put efforts into schoolwork, daughters are also expected to take care of the cooking, cleaning, and other household responsibilities. Muzny observed that in the Vietnamese community of Oklahoma City "excluding going to work daily, little change in women's behavior was observed inside the home. . ." (1989, p. 131). Indeed, teaching young women to be wives and mothers continues to be a preoccupation in Vietnamese American families (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

In spite of the widespread participation of Vietnamese women in employment and education, the activities of young women outside the home is still highly restricted. Nash (1992) described the rearing of sons in Vietnamese families as generally permissive. Daughters, however, are encouraged to stay in the home after school and their activities are much more closely supervised than those of their brothers. Families tend to be tolerant of the sexual activities of young men, but they often frown upon even casual dating for young women.

How can we account for this apparent cultural continuity in the face of so much change in Vietnamese American family life? In keeping with the idea of innovative traditionalism, we can see this as a matter of adapting old concepts to new circumstances. The process of adaptation involves tension and conflict, but it can have some desirable as well as undesirable consequences.

Dating, an accepted institution for most American teenagers, is frequently a source of conflict and resentment between young Vietnamese American women and their families. Muzny considered it "the least understood component of American teenage behavior" (1989, p. 144). When adolescent girls are allowed to go out at night, it is usually in the company of other girls and not alone with a boy. Frequently, young women will go out with a group of female friends, change clothes, and join a male companion (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

As with other bicultural conflicts, tension between old ideas and new circumstances can lead to unfortunate results. Young women who find themselves caught between the social expectations of their peers and the restrictions of their parents may sometimes react by rebelling against the latter. When daughters are obedient to their parents, they may still feel angry at the treatment they receive.

Teachers and school counselors should be aware that even well-adjusted Vietnamese girls may feel that they receive unfair pressure and restraint from their families and may harbor resentments.

However, the innovative traditionalism of Vietnamese American gender roles may also have some positive consequences for school adaptation. As Kibria noted, the entry of women into the American labor force has not led to a rejection of the cultural association between women and the household. Instead, it has led to what she terms an "expansion of women's household activities" (1993, p. 125). Women are seen as connecting the household to relevant institutions outside it, such as schools and government bureaucracies. The definition of women as wives has been expanded to include a responsibility for contributing to the family income. Thus, daughters are still brought up to be "good wives," but part of being a "good wife" now includes the ability to bring money into the home. Traditional concepts about gender roles, in other words, have been linked to new goals in the American environment.

The expectation that young women will be able to get good jobs leads families to push daughters, as well as sons, toward achievement in school. But daughters also continue to be much more restricted in their activities: homework and housework are frequently the two kinds of accepted activities for young women (Caplan et al., 1989). Not surprisingly, girls do tend to spend more time on homework than Vietnamese boys do, and consequently Vietnamese girls show higher levels of school performance (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

ETHNIC INVOLVEMENT

Perhaps one of the most interesting findings of those who have studied the academic performance of Vietnamese American children is that the children who are the least assimilated into American culture tend to show the highest levels of academic performance (Bankston, 1995; Mooney, 1995; Rumbaut, 1997; Zhou &

Bankston, 1998). The apparently paradoxical situation that students who are in many ways the least "American" do best in American schools may be understood by thinking in terms of the ethnic social relations described in the previous section.

The school performance of Vietnamese American students has been widely celebrated. The average score of Vietnamese students on standardized achievement tests such as the California Achievement Test is above the national average. In mathematics, especially, they seem to have outstripped other young people. "Half the [Vietnamese] children studied obtained [math] scores in the top quartile," Caplan, Choy, and Whitmore observed in a widely read article in *Scientific American.* "Even more spectacularly, 27 percent of them scored in the 10th decile—better than 90 percent of the students across the country and almost three times higher than the national norm" (1992, p. 38).

At the same time as Vietnamese American youth have been portrayed as high achievers, they have also tended to be seen as a high-risk population, disproportionally involved in delinquency and gang activities (Long, 1996; Tran, 1995; Vigil & Yun, 1990). Both the impressive academic achievement and the problems of many Vietnamese young people in adapting to the American environment inside and outside of schools may be understood by looking at involvement in Vietnamese social relations as a form of social capital.

From a social capital perspective, the "dense set of associations" (Coleman 1990, p. 316) provided by the ethnic community, and the formal organizations that arise from this set, offer a system of supports and constraints that promote positive behavior. If the source of Vietnamese academic achievement is the ethnic community, rather than the individual family, we should expect that the success of group members is related to their degree of involvement with the ethnic group, rather than to individual or family characteristics.

Research on other non-European immigrant children has indicated that social capital within the family and the community, inherent in the social structures of some ethnic groups, can help generate human capital in the second generation (Coleman, 1988). Maria Matute-Bianchi attributes the scholastic success of Mexican American students to a strong identification with Mexican communities (1986). Margaret Gibson finds that Punjabi students in California surpass the performance of their native white peers through the influence of their ethnic community by avoiding "becoming American" (1989). Similarly, studies on Vietnamese refugees have found that aspects of Vietnamese ethnicity, such as the family and the ethnic community, have promoted academic achievement among Vietnamese children (Caplan et al., 1992; Caplan et al., 1989; Gold, 1992).

The psychological identification with the ethnic group, interest in Vietnamese cultural expressions, participation in activities such as studying the Vietnamese language, involvement in Vietnamese religious organizations, and membership in Vietnamese social networks are all associated with children's high academic achievement. Conversely, Vietnamese children who are involved with drugs, gang activities, and other forms of problematic behavior tend to identify minimally with their ethnic group, reject Vietnamese cultural expressions, decline to participate in organized activities related to ethnicity, be uninvolved in Vietnamese religious organizations, and have comparatively more social contacts with non-Vietnamese peers (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

It may be possible to understand these findings in terms of the framework described in the previous sections. As refugees struggling to establish a place for themselves in a new land, the Vietnamese in the United States have formed tightly integrated and cooperative social relations. These relations have enabled them to form small alternative societies in the low-income neighborhoods where they are frequently located. The cooperative social relations facilitate positive social action, and provide encouragement, support, and direction to their young people. Adapting cultural traditions to a new environment, they have reoriented familial and communal relations toward pushing the younger generation to achievement and upward mobility. This results in psychological pressure for young people and, possibly is a source of generational conflict. However, young people who are involved with their ethnic community are in generational consonance with their elders and tend to do better in school.

The "circle the wagons" attitude in Vietnamese communities also tends to lead adults to reject and stigmatize nonconformists. Therefore, young people who are not highly involved in a system of ethnic social relations with their elders are at risk in two ways. First, they are likely to assimilate into the adversarial youth cultures of the low-income neighborhoods that surround them. Second, they tend to be labeled as outsiders by their elders, who concentrate their efforts on the "good kids."

CONCLUSION: PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The chief goal of this monograph has been to provide educators, counselors, and other professionals who work with Vietnamese children with information on their background and a summary of current research findings about them and their families. This overview also has specific and practical implications for meeting the needs of Vietnamese children as well as immigrant children of other homelands. We conclude by highlighting some recommendations implied by this study.

(1) ***Working with Vietnamese children involves seeing them in familial and community contexts.*** The children of Vietnamese refugees do not live as isolated individuals. They live in families and in communities that have experienced the strains of exile and resettlement. Some children have to live with the loss of family members at war or in flight. Others have been separated from family members for a lengthy period of time, and they may have difficulty in reestablishing relations when their family members reunite. Even when family relations are sound, many children find their parents and other adult members of their extended families struggling to establish their places in the new country. All these problems notwithstanding, Vietnamese families tend to orient toward integration into mainstream American society. They do not function in isolation; they have reestablished communities and social ties in order to assist one another in meeting the challenges of the new country. While ethnic communities have proved to be effective ways of dealing with many problems, they also create social environments that may be quite different from those of most American children. Efforts to assist the children of this new ethnic group in school or in other institutions therefore necessarily involve becoming familiar with the lives of the children in the family and their immediate social environments.

(2) Those who work with Vietnamese children also need to work with their elders. It is often difficult for non-Vietnamese individuals to get to know Vietnamese families and communities. While outsiders are almost invariably treated with courtesy, close relations can be hard to establish. Still, since Vietnamese children do live in familial and community contexts, many of their problems involve relations with family and community. Parents and other elders may be reluctant to enter such alien surroundings as American schools, but every effort should be made to make them feel welcome in the institutions that serve their children.

(3) Vietnamese children often experience considerable pressure from their families and communities and may need culturally sensitive assistance in coping with it. Educators and the American public too often feel that the relatively strong academic performance of Vietnamese children indicates that they are doing just fine and have few needs. Doing well and being well are two different things, though. Even when the children are excelling, they are often responding to parental needs for finding a place of respect in the new homeland. This can result in considerable psychological strain and unhappiness. Peer support groups, organized in schools, can be valuable ways of enabling children to share their stresses with each other.

(4) Even apparently well-adjusted children often feel the pressures and anxieties of bicultural conflicts. Generation gaps are common in virtually all American ethnic groups. However, they can be especially problematic in this group. Not only are children under pressure from their immigrant parents, they also have life experiences that are quite different from their parents'. Mediating conflicts between parents and children, and helping parents and children to see things from each other's perspectives, can be a critical task in creating generational consonance and in helping children meet the challenges of life in their segment of contemporary American society.

(5) The most effective way of managing bicultural problems lies in the development of bicultural ties and skills. Young Vietnamese Americans must be able to meet the challenges of American society. Mastering fluent and idiomatic English, adjusting to the school environment, and preparing for the mainstream American workplace are critical tasks for them. At the same time, if they cut themselves off from their families and coethnics, they are likely to be rootless and to lose adult support and direction. Thus, one of the best ways to establish ties with the larger society and to develop necessary skills while retaining ethnic ties is to become involved in Vietnamese activities and organizations that are directed toward preparation for life in America. Vietnamese school clubs, for example, provide social settings that are both Vietnamese and American. When young people prepare cultural exhibitions for others in their school or plan activities together, they accomplish two central psychosocial goals. On the one hand, cultural activities allow Vietnamese students to bring the rich Vietnamese heritage to their schools. Staging a Vietnamese New Year celebration for fellow students establishes the legitimacy of being Vietnamese in an American school and helps young people see that being Vietnamese is one way of being American. On the other hand, cultural activities allow Vietnamese students to share their anxieties and concerns with other coethnic students who are experiencing the same kinds of bicultural problems in the same school. This involvement will lessen their sense of isolation in school while at the same time strengthen coethnic relations with coethnic peers and elders, enhancing cultural consonance rather than magnifying cultural dissonance.

(6) It is important to draw on the social resources of the Vietnamese. Vietnamese communities, as networks of social relations, are valuable resources for their children. Formal organizations, such as churches and clubs, give recognition to the accomplishments of their young and discourage undesirable forms of behavior. Young people are much more likely to be influenced by

elders within their ethnic communities than by those outside of them. As much as possible, educators and counselors should learn about the formal and informal organizations of local Vietnamese groups. Given the fact that many Vietnamese communities are located in disadvantaged neighborhoods, the social resources or social capital of these communities may be the greatest asset that group members have in creating a hopeful future for their children.

(7) ***Connections between schools and ethnic communities should be made closer and stronger.*** Since the social resources of ethnic communities are so valuable, it is important to improve ties between these communities and schools. Schools with large Vietnamese populations may want to consider having special meetings with Vietnamese parent organizations. Community leaders should be contacted and lines of communication with these leaders should be established.

(8) ***Vietnamese counselors, teachers, and other school staff can be a valuable bridge between school and community.*** Given the cultural distance between many non-Vietnamese educators and members of these communities, it is very important to establish bridges to Vietnamese communities. Every school with a large Vietnamese population should endeavor to have at least one community member, and preferably several, who are bilingual professionals as staff members or volunteers. Their role should be establishment and maintenance of ties with their communities.

(9) ***Vietnamese language classes and other programs featuring ethnic culture can enhance scholastic performance.*** Since it has been found that learning the Vietnamese language does not compete with the goals of mainstream education, but actually contributes to them, the proper attitude of school officials toward the language should not simply be tolerance, but encouragement of its mastery. Schools should not only actively promote clubs and activities aimed

at strengthening Vietnamese students' language skills and cultural identification, but also enthusiastically encourage non-coethnic members of their staff and student body to learn about these rich cultures.

(10) ***Creating closer ties between at-risk children and their own communities can be one of the best ways to help the children.*** One of the biggest problems of at-risk Vietnamese children is that they are alienated from their own families and ethnic communities and they are frequently rejected by adult community members. One strategy for dealing with the problems of these children is to connect them more closely with their own ethnic communities. Having Vietnamese social workers or counselors involve these children in ethnic traditions and cultural activities can give the children a stronger sense of connection with their elders. It can also help the elders see that problem children, as well as success stories, are part of the ethnic community and deserve its support and encouragement.

REFERENCES

Anderson, E. (1990). *Streetwise: Race, class, and change in an urban community.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (ED 372 152)

Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city.* New York: W.W. Norton.

August, L.R., & Gianola, B.A. (1987). Symptoms of war trauma induced psychiatric disorders: Southeast Asian refugees and Vietnam veterans. *International Migration Review, 21*(3), 820-32.

Baker, K.A., & de Kantner, A.A. (1981). *Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. (ED 215 010)

Bankston, C.L. (1995). *Ethnic community involvement and academic achievement among Vietnamese American secondary school students: A community study.* Doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University, Department of Sociology.

Bankston, C.L., & Caldas, S.J. (1996a). Adolescents and deviance in a Vietnamese American community: A theoretical synthesis. *Deviant Behavior, 17*(2), 159-81.

Bankston, C.L., & Caldas, S.J. (1996b, December). Majority African American schools and the perpetuation of social injustice: The influence of *de facto* segregation on academic achievement. *Social Forces, 75* (2), 535-56. (EJ 538 195)

Bankston, C.L., & Zhou, M. (1995a). Religious participation, ethnic identification, and adaptation of Vietnamese adolescents in an immigrant community. *Sociological Quarterly, 36*(3), 501-12.

Bankston, C.L., & Zhou, M. (1995b, January). Effects of minority-language literacy on the academic achievement of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans. *Sociology of Education, 68*(1), 1-17. (EJ498335)

Bankston, C.L., & Zhou, M. (1997). Valedictorians and delinquents: The bifurcation of Vietnamese American youth. *Deviant Behavior, 18*(4), 343-63.

Bemak, F., & Chung, R.C. (1998). Vietnamese Amerasians: Predictors of distress and self-destructive behavior. *Journal of Counseling and Development 76*(4), 452-8.

Bousquet, G.L. (1991). *Behind the bamboo hedge: The impact of homeland politics in the Parisian Vietnamese community.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bowens, G. (1992, March 9). Julie Nguyen Brown: Motown tycoon with a difference. *Business Week,* p. 65.

Brown, M.E. (1994). Parents and children: Fundamental questions about immigrant family life. In T. Walch (Ed.), *Immigrant America: European ethnicity in the United States* (pp. 89-102). New York: Garland.

Caldas, S.J., & Bankston, C.L. (1997, May-June). The effect of school population socioeconomic status on individual student academic achievement. *Journal of Educational Research, 90*(5), 269-78. (EJ 549 950)

Caplan, N., Choy, M.H., & Whitmore, J.K. (1992, February). Indochinese refugee families and academic achievement. *Scientific American, 266*(2), 36-42. (EJ 438 367)

Caplan, N., Whitmore, J.K., & Choy, M.H. (1989). *The boat people and achievement in America: A study of family life, hard work, and cultural values.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. (ED 317 652)

Carolina Population Center. (1998). *National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Wave I* (Electronic data tape). Chapel Hill: Author.

Chan, K.B., & Loveridge, D. (1987). Refugees in transit: Vietnamese in a refugee camp in Hong Kong. *International Migration Review, 21*(3), 745-59.

Chanda, N. (1986). *Brother enemy: A history of Indochina since the fall of Saigon.* San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

Chavez, L. (1991). Hispanics vs. their elders. *Commentary, 92*(4), 47.

Cheng, L., & Yang, P.Q. (1996). Asians: The "model minority"reconstructed. In R. Waldinger & M. Bozorgmehr (Eds.), *Ethnic Los Angeles* (pp. 305-44). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Child, I.L. (1943). *Italian or American? The second generation in conflict.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey. (1992, 1995). *The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, Department of Sociology.

Chuong, C.H. (1994). *Vietnamese students: Changing patterns, changing needs.* San Francisco CA: Many Cultures Publishing.

Coleman, J.S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory.* Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press.

Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology,* 94 (Supplement), 95-120.

Coleman, J.S., & Hoffer, T. (1987). *Public and private high schools: The impact of communities.* New York: Basic Books.

Cooper, C.R., Baker, H., Polichar, D., & Welsh, M. (1993). Values and communication of Chinese, Filipino, European, Mexican, and Vietnamese American adolescents with their families and friends. In S. Shulman & A.W. Collins (Eds.), *Father-adolescent relationship. New Directions for Child Development* (no. 62, pp. 73-89). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Covello, L. (1972). *The social background of the Italo-American school child.* Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield.

Cummins, J. (1981,Winter). Language shift and language learning in the transition from home to school. *Journal of Education,173,* 85-98.

Davis, D.G., & McDaid, J.L. (1992, April). Identifying second-language students' needs: A survey of Vietnamese high school students. *Urban Education, 27*(1), 32-40. (EJ 445 341)

DeBonis, S. (1995). *Children of the enemy: Oral histories of Vietnamese Amerasians and their mothers.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Dornbusch, S.M., Carlsmith, J.N., Bushwall, S.J., Liederman, P., Hasdorf, A., & Gross, R. (1985, April). Single parents, extended families, and the control of adolescents. *Child Development, 56*(2), 326-41. (EJ 315 776)

Drucker, P.F. (1993). *Post-capitalist society.* New York: Harper Collins.

Durkheim, E. ([1897] 1951). *Suicide: A study in sociology.* New York: The Free Press.

Featherstone, D.R, Cundick, B.P., & Jensen, L.C. (1992, Spring). Differences in school behavior and achievement between children from intact, reconstituted, and single-parent families. *Adolescence, 27*(105) 1-12. (EJ 444 055)

Fernández, R.M., & Nielsen, F. (1986). Bilingualism and Hispanic scholastic achievement: Some baseline results. *Social Science Research, 15*(1), 43-70.

Foote, D. (1999, March 1). The siege of Little Saigon. *Newsweek*, p. 34.

Forsyth, C.J., & Bankston, C.L. (1997). Mitigation in a capital murder case with a Vietnamese defendant: The interpretation of social context. *Journal of Applied Sociology, 14*(2), 147-65.

Freeman, J.A. (1989). *Hearts of sorrow: Vietnamese-American lives.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gans, H.J. (1992). Second generation decline: Scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 15*(2), 173-92.

Garfinkel, I., & McLanahan, S. (1986). *Single mothers and their children: A new American dilemma.* Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Gibson, M A. (1989). *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an American high school.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gold, S.J. (1992). *Refugee communities: A comparative field study.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gordon, M.M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Habenstein, R.W. (1998). The "then and now" overview of the immigrant family in America. In C.H. Mindel, R.W. Habenstein, & R. Wright, Jr. (Eds)., *Ethnic families in America: Patterns and variations* (4th ed., pp. 13-38). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Hanh, P.T. (1979). The family in Vietnam and its social life. In J.K. Whitmore (Ed.), *An introduction to Indochinese history, culture, language, and life: For persons involved with the Indochinese Refugee Education and Resettlement Project in the state of Michigan.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.

Harding, R.K., & Looney, J.G. (1977). Problems of Southeast Asian children in a refugee camp. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 134*(4), 407-11.

Herbers, J. (1986). *The new heartland: America's flight beyond the suburbs and how it is changing our future.* New York: Times Books.

Hickey, G.C. (1964). *Village in Vietnam.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hochschild, J.L. (1984). *The new American dilemma: Liberal democracy and school desegregation.* New Haven: Yale University Press. (ED 270 526)

Kibria, N. (1993). *Family tightrope: The changing lives of Vietnamese Americans.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lanphier, C.M. (1983). Dilemmas of decentralization: Refugee sponsorship and service in Canada and the United States. In D.R. Webster (Ed.), *The Southeast Asian environment.* Ottowa: University of Ottowa Press.

Leba, J.K. (1985). *The Vietnamese entrepreneurs in the U.S.A.: The first decade.* Houston: Zieleks.

Lindholm, K.J., & Aclan, Z. (1991). Bilingual proficiency as a bridge to academic achievement: Results from bilingual/immersion programs. *Journal of Education, 73*(2), 99-113.

Liu, W.T., Lamanna, M., & Murata, A. (1979). *Transition to nowhere: Vietnamese refugees in America.* Nashville: Charter House.

Long, P.D.P. (1996). *The dream shattered: Vietnamese gangs in America.* Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Lopez, D.E. (1976). The social consequences of Chicano home/school bilingualism. *Social Problems, 24*(2), 234-46.

Lopez, D.E. (1996). Language: Diversity and assimilation. In R. Waldinger & M. Bozorgmehr (Eds.), *Ethnic Los Angeles* (pp. 139-64). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Los Angeles Times. (1994). *Los Angeles Times Poll: Vietnamese in Southern California.* Archive number USLAT94-331. Storrs, CT: The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.

Matute-Bianchi, M.E. (1986, November). Ethnic identities and patterns of school success and failure among Mexican-descent and Japanese-American students in a California high school: An ethnographic analysis. *American Journal of Education, 95*(1), 233-55. (EJ 348 512)

McClements-Hammond. R.B. (1993). *Effects of separation on Vietnamese unaccompanied minors: Assessment through the use of the Kinetic Family Drawing Test, Hopkins Symptom Checklist-25, and the Vietnamese Depression Scale.* Doctoral dissertation, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Department of Education.

McKelvey, R.S., & Webb, J.A. (1995, May). A pilot study of abuse among Vietnamese Amerasians. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 19*(5), 545-53. (EJ 503 105)

McLanahan, S., & Booth, K. (1989, August). Mother-only families: Problems, prospects, and politics. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51*(3), 557-79. (EJ 400 237)

Min, P.G. (Ed.). (1995). *Asian Americans: Contemporary trends and issues.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (ED 382 749)

Montero, D. (1979). *Vietnamese Americans: Patterns of resettlement and socioeconomic adaptation in the United States.* Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.

Mooney, E.R. (1995). *The effects of various factors on the academic achievement of Vietnamese students at Gold Coast College.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.

Muller, P.O. (1981). *Contemporary suburban America.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Muzny, C.C. (1989). *The Vietnamese in Oklahoma City: A study in ethnic change.* New York: AMS Press.

Nash, J.S. (1992). *Vietnamese Catholicism.* Harvey, LA: Art Review Press.

New Orleans School Board. (1993). *Norm-referenced test results of the New Orleans public schools: A comprehensive report on their relationship to major student characteristics.* New Orleans: New Orleans School Board, Department of Educational Accountability, Division of Educational Programs.

Ogbu, J.U. (1974). *The next generation: An ethnography of education in an urban neighborhood.* New York: Academic Press.

Pearson, J.L., Ialongo, N.S., & Hunter, A.G. (1994). Family structure and aggressive behavior in a population of urban elementary school children. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychology, 33*(4), 540-8.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R.G. (1996). *Immigrant America: A portrait* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press. (ED 331 914)

Portes, A., & Schauffler, R. (1994,Winter). Language and the second generation: Bilingualism yesterday and today. *International Migration Review, 28*(4), 640-661. (EJ 505 918)

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993, November). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants among post-1965 youth. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 530,* 74-98.

Reich, R.O. (1992). *The work of nations: Preparing ourselves for 21st century capitalism.* New York: Random House.

Rumbaut, R.G. (1995a). Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian Americans. In P.G. Min (Ed.), *Asian Americans: Contemporary trends and issues.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (ED 382 749)

Rumbaut, R.G. (1995b). The new Californians: Comparative research findings on the educational progress of immigrant children. In R.G. Rumbaut & W.A. Cornelius (Eds.), *California's immigrant children: Theory, research, and implications for educational policy.* San Diego: University of California, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.

Rumbaut, R.G. (1997). Ties that bind: Immigration and immigrant families in the United States. In A. Booth, A.C. Crouter, & N. Landale (Eds.), *Immigration and the family: Research and policy on U.S. immigrants.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. (ED 405 163)

Rumbaut, R.G. (1999). Assimilation and its discontents: Ironies and paradoxes. In J. DeWind, C. Hirschman, & P. Kasinitz (Eds.), *Becoming American, America becoming.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Rumbaut, R.G., & Ima, K. (1988). *The adaptation of Southeast Asian refugee youth: A comparative study.* Final Report to the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement. San Diego: San Diego State University, Department of Sociology. (ED 299 372)

Rutledge, P. (1985). *The role of religion in ethnic self-identity: A Vietnamese community.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Rutledge, P. (1992). *The Vietnamese experience in America.* Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Saito, L.T. (1999). *Socio-cultural factors in the educational achievement of Vietnamese American students.* Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Irvine, Department of Education.

Schulz, N. (1983). *Voyagers in the land: A report on unaccompanied Southeast Asian refugee children, New York City, 1983.* Washington, DC: U.S. Catholic Conference, Migration and Refugee Services.

Skinner, K.A. (1980, Summer). Vietnamese in America: Diversity in adaptation. *California Sociologist,* 3, 103-24.

Sowell, T. (1991, November 25). Promoting alienization. *Forbes,* p. 2.

Statistical yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. (1975-96). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Sung, B.L. (1987). *The adjustment experience of Chinese immigrant children in New York City.* Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies. (ED 294 966)

Tienda, M. (1984). Language, education, and the socioeconomic achievement of Hispanic origin men. *Social Science Quarterly, 65*(2), 519-36.

Tollefson, J.W. (1989). *Alien winds: The reeducation of America's Indochinese refugees.* New York: Praeger.

Tran, M.V. (1995). *The schooling of Vietnamese American high school students in Oregon: Their perspectives.* Doctoral dissertation, Portland State University, Department of Education.

Tran, T.V. (1991). Sponsorship and employment status among Indochinese refugees in the United States. *International Migration Review, 25*(3), 536-50. (EJ 433 957)

Tse, L. (1996). Language brokering in linguistic minority communities: the case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-American students. *Bilingual Research Journal, 20*(4), 485-98.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1984). *Census of the population, 1980: Detailed characteristics of the population, U.S. summary.* PC80-1D1-A. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1992). *1990 Census of the population and housing. Public use microdata sample* (Electronic data tape). Washington, DC: Author.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1993). *1990 Census of the population, the foreign-born population of the United States.* Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1994). *Statistical abstract of the United States: 1994* (114th ed.). Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (1975a). *Information about the Indochina refugee program.* Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (1975b). *Refugee task force report to the Congress.* Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Vaden-Kiernan, N., Ialongo, N.S., & Kellam, S. (1995). Household family structure and children's aggressive behavior: A longitudinal study of urban elementary school children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 23,* 553-68.

Vigil, J.D., & Yun, S.C. (1990). Vietnamese youth gangs in Southern California. In C.R. Huff (Ed.), *Gangs in America* (pp. 146-62). Newbury Park, CA: Sage. (ED 372 155)

Vuong, G.T. (1976). *Getting to know the Vietnamese.* New York: Frederick Ungar.

Wharry, C. (1993, Summer-Fall). Bilingualism (ancestral language maintenance) among Native American, Vietnamese American and Hispanic American college students. *Bilingual Research Journal, 17*(3-4),117-32. (EJ 324 690)

Williams, H.A. (1990). Families in refugee camps. *Human Organization, 49*(2), 100-7.

Willig, A. (1985, Fall). A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education. *Review of Educational Research, 55*(3), 269-317. (EJ 324 690)

Wilson, W.J. (1996). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor.* New York: Knopf.

Woo, E. (1998, May 17). Seeking causes and solutions at seven California campuses: Lower standards, money, changing student body are the challenges. *Los Angeles Times.*

Zhou, M. (1997a). Social capital in Chinatown: The role of community-based organizations and families in the adaptation of the younger generation. In L. Weis & M.S. Seller (Eds.), *Beyond black and white: New voices, new faces in the United States schools* (pp. 181-206). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Zhou, M. (1997b). Growing up American: The challenge confronting immigrant children and children of immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology, 23,* 63-95.

Zhou, M. (In press). Straddling different worlds: The acculturation of Vietnamese refugee children in San Diego. In R.G. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Coming of age in immigrant America.* Berkeley & New York: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation.

Zhou, M., & Bankston, C.L. (1994). Social capital and the adaptation of the second generation: The case of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans. *International Migration Review, 28*(4), 775-99. (EJ505 925)

Zhou, M., & Bankston, C.L. (1998). *Growing up American: How Vietnamese children adapt to life in the United States.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation. (ED 424 335)

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHORS

Min Zhou, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Sociology and Asian American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her main areas of research are immigration and immigrant adaptation, race/ethnicity, ethnic economies, the community, and urban sociology. She has done extensive work on the educational experience of immigrant children and children of immigrant parentage, the employment and earnings patterns of immigrants and native-born minorities, immigrant communities, ethnic economies, and residential mobility. She is author of *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave* (Temple University Press, 1992), co-author (with Bankston) of *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1998), and co-editor (with James Gatewood) of *Contemporary Asian America: A Multidisciplinary Reader* (New York University Press, 1999).

Carl L. Bankston III, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Tulane University, New Orleans, LA. He is co-author (with Zhou) of *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1998). His current work involves studying labor migration in the southern United States, Asian American communities, and academic achievement among immigrant and non-immigrant minority groups.

ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education
Institute for Urban and Minority Education
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

ERIC

BEST COPY AVAILABLE